

EAST CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE AGES, 450-1450

# Muslim Sources on the Magyars in the Second Half of the 9th Century

*The Magyar Chapter of the Jayhānī Tradition*



István Zimonyi



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*The Magyar Chapter of the Jayhānī Tradition*

By

István Zimonyi



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# Preface

The Hungarian version of the present work was completed in late 2003 and published under the title *Muszlim források a honfoglalás előtti magyarokról. A Ğayhānī-hagyomány magyar fejezete* (Muslim sources on the Magyars before the Conquest. The Magyar chapter of the Jayhānī tradition).<sup>1</sup> It was then translated into German and published in Herne in 2006. During the preparation of the English translation, I took into consideration the critical notes of the reviews published in the meantime.<sup>2</sup>

I also drew inspiration from the publication of Mihály Kmoskó's studies on the medieval nomadic peoples of the Eurasian steppe, in which the relevant texts of the Muslim geographical and historical literature had been collected and translated. I had planned to publish his manuscripts with a commentary reflecting the state of research in the early 1990s, but eventually decided to separate the two projects. Meanwhile, Kmoskó's studies on the Muslim geographical literature have been published in three volumes.<sup>3</sup>

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1 Here and in the following pages, I use the term "Magyars" for the nomadic, pagan tribal confederacy led by the Magyar tribe in the 9th–10th centuries and employ "Hungarians" either for the Christian Magyars after AD 1000, or for all subsequent periods to the modern day. In fact, "Magyar" is a self-designation, while "Hungarian" ultimately derives from the Latin "Ungri" or "Hungri," which itself goes back to the Slavic "Ongur." The Slavic terms shows that speakers of Slavic saw the Magyars as Onogurs and called them by that ethnic name. Besides this distinction between a self-designation and the name employed by outsiders, that between Magyar and Hungarian is not devoid of serious problems, as it may at times imply that the Magyars and the Hungarians were two separate identities. Nonetheless, the kingdom which the Magyars established after conversion was known as Hungaria in Latin sources, although the Magyars, who were the dominant element in that kingdom throughout its history, preserved not only their ethnic identity and language, but also their own self-designation to this day. To complicate things even further, the conversion to Christianity and the accompanying social and political changes also introduced a new territorial concept: A Hungarian was a person born in the Hungarian Christian Kingdom, who was the subject of the Hungarian king. The ethnic and territorial concepts were in parallel use for the subsequent centuries (Zimonyi 1994a, 5–7).

2 Ferenc Makk, "Une monographie sur les Hongrois de la période précédant l'occupation du bassin carpatique," *Chronica* 6 (2006): 52–65; Emine Yılmaz, in *Bilig Türk Dünyası Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, Güz 2007, 224–228; Immo Eberl, in *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 31 (2008): 165–166; Victor Spinei, in *Südost-Forschungen* 67 (2008): 419–424; Florin Curta, in *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 16 (2008–2009): 285–287.

3 Kmoskó 1/1, 1/2, 1/3.

Among Kmoskó's manuscripts, there was a monograph in German on the chapters in *Gardīzī* dealing with the Turkic-speaking peoples with parallel sections from other authors. That manuscript has been completely revised; together with Hansgerd Göckenjan, I published it twelve years ago, and added the relevant chapters from the parallel authors, as well as a philological and historical commentary (but left out Kmoskó's initial notes, which had meanwhile fallen out of date).<sup>4</sup> Kmoskó won fame in the field of Syriac studies as the first to compile the Syriac sources pertaining to the peoples of the Eurasian steppe. That study was published in Hungarian by Szabolcs Felföldi.<sup>5</sup>

In addition to the study of medieval Muslim and Syriac sources on the history of the steppe lands, a new research project was initiated at the Department of Medieval History of the University of Szeged, which focused on the collection and translation with commentary of the sources pertaining to the medieval nomads. Within this project, Samu Szádeczky-Kardoss published his source book on the Avars,<sup>6</sup> with another manuscript in waiting concerning the sources for the early history of the Bulgars, up to the migration of Asparuch to the Balkans, ca. 680. Teréz Olajos published the Greek sources on the 9th-century Avars and the Hungarian translation of Theophylactus Simocattes, with notes.<sup>7</sup> Samu Szádeczky-Kardoss's disciple, Csaba Farkas, wrote a dissertation on the Greek and Latin sources pertaining to the Türk Empire. The late Árpád Berta, the former head of the Department of Altaic Studies at University of Szeged, prepared a critical edition of the runic inscriptions dated to the times of the Türk and Uygur Khaganates, accompanied by a Hungarian translation with philological commentary.<sup>8</sup> This is so far the only "native" source for the social and political life of the early medieval steppe nomads. Finally, István Ferincz translated the *Russian Primary Chronicle* into Hungarian, to which the historical notes are under preparation.

In the meantime, a number of doctoral dissertations on the history of the medieval nomads have been defended in Szeged. Mihály Dobrovits wrote the first history of the Türk Khaganates, Szabolcs Polgár collected all sources concerning the development of trade in East Europe from the 9th to the 10th centuries, Szilvia Kovács wrote the history of the Cumans/Kipchaks before

---

4 Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001.

5 Kmoskó 2004. Meanwhile, Mark Dickens has defended his dissertation entitled "Turkâyê: Turkic Peoples in Syriac Literature Prior to the Seljüks" (University of Cambridge, 2008).

6 Szádeczky-Kardoss 1998.

7 Olajos 2001; 2012.

8 Berta 2004.

the Mongol invasion,<sup>9</sup> and Katalin Nagy has focused on the weapons of the East European nomads in the Middle Ages.<sup>10</sup> In addition, conferences on the medieval nomads have been organized annually since 1997. Hungarian scholars took part in the first three conferences organized in Szeged. The fourth was an international conference whose proceedings were published in *Acta Orientalia* in 2005. Three other conferences took place in Jászberény, the capital of the Yassi, a people speaking an Indo-Iranian language who settled in Hungary in the 13th century; in Miskolc; and in Cairo. Most of the papers presented at these conferences have been or are going to be published.<sup>11</sup>

The Hungarian ethnogenesis is a part of the history of the early medieval steppe lands. The beginnings of the Magyar tribal union have been placed between the 4th and 9th centuries. As early as the 1970s, Péter Hajdú, Gyula Kristó, and András Róna-Tas had initiated a complex research project on the early history of the Magyars. They have published five volumes on the “proto-history” of the Magyars.<sup>12</sup> Gyula Kristó as the editor-in-chief published the *Lexicon of Ancient Hungarian History* (9th–14th centuries) in 1994.<sup>13</sup> In 1990 András Róna-Tas founded a research group for early Hungarian studies at the Department of Altaic Studies at the University of Szeged specializing on Turkic loanwords in Hungarian, as well as in the medieval history of the Eurasian steppe. Within this framework and later in coordination with the Department of Medieval Studies, I have started special courses on the early history of the Hungarians. As editor-in-chief of the series “Magyar Őstörténeti Könyvtár” (Hungarian Prehistoric Library), I have supervised the publication of 27 volumes, including the Hungarian version of this book.

In writing the present volume the results of studies in three separate disciplines have been taken into consideration:

1. The characteristics of the cultural milieu in which Muslim authors wrote their accounts are of great significance for the interpretation of their testimony. It is therefore important to understand the basic ideas of Islamic civilization. If trustworthy data are expected, then the *interpretatio Islamica* must be taken into consideration. For example, when Arabic authors

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9 Polgár 2009–2010, 228–231; Kovács 2012.

10 Pintér-Nagy 2014.

11 The proceedings of the conference in Jászberény and in Cairo appeared in *Chronica* 7–8 (2007–2008); 11 (2011).

12 SzÓM, I–IV.

13 KMTL.

- described a people as “nomadic”, they had in mind Bedouin nomadism, which was familiar to them, but very different from nomadism in the Eurasian steppe.
2. The civilization of the Eurasian steppe zone played an important role in the history of the medieval world. As the Magyars lived in its western part during the 5th–9th centuries, the study of the economic, social and cultural life of the medieval nomads of Eurasian steppe is of the utmost importance for understanding early Hungarian history.
  3. Early Hungarian history has been intensely studied, and the results, which have been published primarily in Hungarian, are of crucial importance when assessing the trustworthiness of the testimony of the written sources written in Arabic.

This work has been partly sponsored by the Hungarian Research Fund (OTKA) and the National Research and Development Programme (NKFP 5/021).

I owe a great deal of gratitude to my students, Szabolcs Polgár, László Balogh, Szilvia Kovács and Balázs Sinkovits, who read the chapters several times and offered corrections and useful advices on the Hungarian version of this volume. I thank László Balogh for the completion of the maps, Richárd Szántó for the preparation of the maps for this volume, and Szilvia Kovács for technical assistance.

Professor Florin Curta kindly offered to include my book in the series “East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450”. His advice and encouragement facilitated the completion of the work. I thank to him and Mikael Thompson to read my text and polishing my English version.

I express my thanks to the editors, particularly to Julian Deahl, the senior acquisition editor at Brill, for his cooperation and understanding.

University of Szeged  
Szeged, Hungary  
June, 2013

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# Introduction

The study of al-Jayhānī's Hungarian chapter, which contains the most important body of information from Muslim sources on early Hungarian history, has long been an urgent task of Hungarian historians from a philological and historical point of view. Byzantine sources, including the outstanding work of Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, have been studied and published by Gyula Moravcsik.<sup>1</sup> The western sources pertaining to the history of the early Hungarians have been edited and commented in detail, whereas the reconstruction of the Jayhānī tradition and its historical evaluation remains incomplete, despite significant progress in this field in the last few years.

The interest in the study of the Jayhānī tradition can be traced back to the 19th century. Reinaud first drew attention to the passage concerning the Magyars in the work of Abū'l-Fidā'.<sup>2</sup> Later, Hvol'son published the chapters on Eastern Europe to be found in the work of Ibn Rusta, together with a Russian translation and a commentary. Kunik and Rozen published the relevant accounts of al-Bakrī in 1878. De Goeje's series, "On Muslim geographical literature" (*Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*) brought about a new phase, eight volumes being published between 1870 and 1894. In Hungary, the founder of Hungarian Turcology, Ármin Vámbéry, was the first to use the Jayhānī tradition.<sup>3</sup> The "Millennium," i.e., the anniversary in 1896 of 1,000 years since the Hungarian conquest of the Carpathian Basin gave much impetus to the publication of sources on early Hungarian history. A turning point in the history of research on this topic is the publication in 1900 of "The sources of the Hungarian Conquest" (*A magyar honfoglalás kútfoi*). Within this outstanding project, Géza Kuun published the "Oriental sources" (*Keleti kútfo*k), including four groups of sources concerning the early medieval history of Eastern Europe, both in the original language and in Hungarian translation.<sup>4</sup> The leading Hungarian Orientalist of the time, Ignác Goldziher, indirectly participated in the project, as Kuun consulted him, and Goldziher checked the translations. The

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1 Moravcsik 1984.

2 Géographie d'Aboulféda, 1840.

3 Vámbéry 1882, 99–100, 133–134. Vámbéry knew the editions of Ibn Rusta, Ibn Faḍlān, al-Balkhī, al-Qazwīnī, al-Bakrī and al-Dimashqī.

4 МНК: 37–284. The four sources are: 1. The Jayhānī tradition on the basis of Ibn Rusta, Gardīzī and al-Bakrī, 2. Ibn Faḍlān from the quotations of Yāqūt (available at that time was the Mashhad manuscript, the original Ibn Faḍlān report having not yet been discovered), 3. the Balkhī tradition including al-Iṣṭakhī and Ibn Ḥawqal; 4 al-Mas'ūdī.



Jayhānī tradition was represented in this edition by Ibn Rusta, Gardīzī and al-Bakrī. Géza Kuun made use of De Goeje's edition of Ibn Rusta, which is still authoritative.<sup>5</sup> The work of al-Bakrī was published on the basis of fragments from Kunik and Rozen's edition.<sup>6</sup> Gardīzī was available to Kuun from a later copy represented by the Oxford manuscript.<sup>7</sup>

Bálint Hóman, Hungary's leading medievalist in the interwar period, played an important role in promoting the study of Oriental sources, including al-Jayhānī. He reviewed the state of research in a short study<sup>8</sup> and asked Mihály Kmoskó to review and supplement Kuun's edition and commentary. Kmoskó first discovered that the Oxford manuscript of Gardīzī, which Kuun had used, was in fact a copy of the Cambridge manuscript. He obtained facsimiles of both manuscripts and established a critical text of the chapter on the Turks, translated it into German, and provided a thorough historical commentary. He also took into consideration Barthold's edition,<sup>9</sup> which was based on the Oxford manuscript, as well as Marquart's comments.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, Kmoskó collected the parallels to Gardīzī's chapter on the Turks from the other Muslim authors. He included the relevant parts of Ibn Rusta and al-Bakrī's works, as well as the then partially published chapters from the *Ḥudūd al-'ālam* and *Mujmal al-tawārikh*.<sup>11</sup> He wrote a long and detailed preface about al-Jayhānī and his work, but died in 1931 before seeing its publication. The manuscript, entitled *Gardīzī's Abhandlung über die Stämme der Türken*, was kept in the Manuscript Division of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Károly Czeglédy described its contents in detail.<sup>12</sup> During my Humboldt scholarship in Giessen, I decided to publish this valuable study together with Hansgerd Göckenjan. We revised Kmoskó's translations and translated the substantial parallel texts, which had been published after Kmoskó's death. We completely revised and added new historical comments to the texts. As only negligible parts of the original manuscripts remained intact, we dedicated the book to Kmoskó.<sup>13</sup>

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5 BGA VII.

6 The new complete edition of the geographical work of al-Bakrī was published in 1992 (Leeuwen, Ferre, 1992).

7 In the 1960s, the modern edition of Gardīzī was published using the older Cambridge manuscript and its later copy from Oxford (Ḥabībī 1963).

8 Hóman 1908, 865–883.

9 Barthold 1897, 78–126.

10 Marquart 1903, xxix.

11 Ludwig 1982, 361–364.

12 Czeglédy 1954, 66–90.

13 Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001.

His German manuscript was only a small fragment of Kmoskó's scholarly output. He recognized relatively early that even the collection of sources on the Eastern European steppe did not offer a comprehensive picture of the Hungarians. He therefore intended to expand his research to identify the general characteristics of nomadic peoples throughout the entire Eurasian steppe, in order to provide a firm basis for the study of the early Hungarians. Thus, he worked simultaneously on three major projects: the Syriac sources, Muslim geographical works, and Muslim historical literature. Since he was an expert in Syriac studies, Kmoskó first collected the Syriac sources in a manuscript entitled "Syriac Sources on the Peoples of Gog and Magog" (*Szír források Góg és Magóg népeiről*), with four chapters: 1. the Syriac legend of Alexander; 2. The relevant fragment of the Syriac church history of Zacharias Rhetor;<sup>14</sup> 3. extracts from the Syriac chronicles; 4. excerpts from Syrian hagiographic works.<sup>15</sup> The manuscript was published in 2004.<sup>16</sup> The Muslim geographical and historical sources were collected in a five-volume manuscript later entitled "Muslim Writers on the Peoples of the Steppe" (*Mohammedán írók a steppe népeiről*). The first three volumes, covering the geographical sources, were published in 1997, 2000, and 2007, respectively.<sup>17</sup>

Mihály Kmoskó published two papers in German and another two in Hungarian on the medieval history of the Eurasian steppe.<sup>18</sup> Following his death, his extraordinary scholarly output remained largely unknown, as only brief descriptions were known.<sup>19</sup> After the publication of the most important part of his work, it appears that the study of Muslim sources concerning early Hungarian history was finally placed on the same firm footing on which it stood in the 1920s with such leading scholars as Joseph Marquart and Vasiliy Barthold.

After Kmoskó's death, István Janicsek published a few articles on the Jayhānī tradition.<sup>20</sup> During the interwar period, it was Vladimir Minorsky who brought the most important contribution to the study of the Muslim geographical literature. He opened new vistas with the publication of the Persian geographical compendium, *Hudūd al-'ālam*, and the geographic chapter of

14 Pseudo-Zacharias see SzŐM I: 2, 248.

15 Czeglédy 1954, 23–66.

16 Kmoskó 2004.

17 Kmoskó 1/1, 1/2, 1/3.

18 Kmoskó 1921–1925, 141–148; 1921–1925a, 280–292, 356–368; 1927, 149–171; 1929, 14–54.

19 Czeglédy 1954, 19–91.

20 Janicsek 1929, 225–236; 1928–1930, 15–25.

al-Marwazī's work, both accompanied by an English translation and philological and historical comments.<sup>21</sup>

In Hungary, the expert on the Muslim sources since the 1940s was Károly Czeglédy. He thoroughly studied Kmoskó's manuscripts, which he reviewed in his article, but could not take responsibility for their publication for political reasons. He published several papers on the Syriac and Muslim sources pertaining to the history of the nomadic peoples. His articles in Hungarian were later collected in a separate book.<sup>22</sup> Czeglédy also published a new Hungarian translation of the main Muslim accounts in a source-book on the early history of the Hungarians edited by György Györffy.<sup>23</sup> There is no historical commentary in that book, which only gives the reader basic direction, while the accounts of various authors subscribing to the Jayhānī tradition have been put together and translated as a continuous text, thereby obscuring the differences between authors and opening the way to misinterpretations. Czeglédy further planned a new edition of the Muslim sources, after which the Greek, Latin and Slavic sources were to be taken into account as well.<sup>24</sup> Among the Muslim sources Czeglédy had in mind, "The Journey of Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī in Eastern and Central Europe, 1131–1153" (*Abu-Hāmid al-Garnāti utazása Kelet-és Közép Európában 1131–1153*) was published, with a Hungarian translation and the historical comments of the Russian edition added in Hungarian as explanations.<sup>25</sup> The publication of later copies of the Jayhānī tradition, i.e. the two manuscripts of Shukrallāh from Sofia by György Hazai, was an important contribution to the reconstruction of the text.<sup>26</sup>

The relevant chapters of the five-volume work "Introduction to the study of the sources for Hungarian prehistory" (*Bevezetés a magyar őstörténet kutatásának forrásaiba*) may be regarded as marking significant progress in the study of early Hungarian history. Tamás Iványi wrote an excellent summary of the Muslim geographical and historical literature based on Kmoskó, Czeglédy, and then-recent textbooks published abroad.<sup>27</sup> Katalin Oldal published a monograph on the Persian sources pertaining to the history of the Eurasian steppe

21 Minorsky 1937, 1942.

22 Czeglédy 1985.

23 МЕН, 84–103.

24 K. Czeglédy, "A magyar őstörténelem írott forrásainak készülő új kiadásáról" (On the new edition of the written sources of early history of the Hungarians under preparation): МÓТ, 323–325.

25 Bolshakov, Mongajt 1985.

26 Hazai 1957, 157–197.

27 SzÓM I: 2, 211–240.

from the 9th to the 15th centuries, including the Persian authors subscribing to the Jayhānī tradition.<sup>28</sup> The “Lexicon of ancient Hungarian history (9th–15th centuries)” was completed under the direction of Gyula Kristó, Ferenc Makk and Pál Engel in 1994, and the entries on the Muslim themes were written by the author of this book.<sup>29</sup>

On the occasion of the 1100th anniversary of the Hungarian Conquest, György Györffy, as the head of a special committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, organized a series of conferences, the proceedings of which were published in a four-volume work entitled “On the Conquest from different aspects” (*A honfoglalásról sok szemmel*). In the section concerning the written sources, the Jayhānī tradition was treated by István Nyitrai, who discussed the details of the transmission by Persian authors, while I wrote a paper on the Arabic texts of the tradition.<sup>30</sup> István Elter examined the names referring to Magyars in Arabic sources and István Nyitrai explored the description of the Magyars in the works of Persian authors.<sup>31</sup> Meanwhile, Gyula Kristó published a new sourcebook, “The written sources of the conquest period” (*A honfoglalás korának írott forrásai*), which included a chapter on the Muslim sources of which I was the editor.<sup>32</sup>

In the meantime, more comprehensive studies appeared on Muslim geographical literature. The German edition of the *Enzyklopädie des Islam* was published between 1913 and 1934, with a second, revised English version between 1960 and 2004. The entry on Hungary consists of two parts: 1. Hungarians and Hungary before the Ottoman period and Muslims in Hungary, 9th–14th centuries; 2. the Ottoman period in Hungary. The first part was written by the excellent Polish scholar, Tadeusz Lewicki.<sup>33</sup>

The Muslim geographical literature was a favourite field of research for the Russian Arabist Krachkovskiy, who published a monograph on the Muslim geographers in chronological order.<sup>34</sup> Brockelmann treated the geographical literature in several chapters of his handbook, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*.<sup>35</sup> André Miquel wrote about the works of classical Arabic geographical

28 Oldal 1986, 31–33, 72–77, 145–148.

29 KMTL, 77, 177–178, 230, 274, 277, 446, 461–462.

30 Nyitrai 1996, 61–76; Zimonyi 1996, 49–59.

31 Elter 1997, 99–103; Nyitrai 1997, 105–110.

32 HKÍF, 17–91.

33 T. Lewicki, “Madjar, Madjaristan: In the Pre-Ottoman Period, The Hungarian Muslim in the 3rd–8th/9th–14th centuries”: E1<sup>2</sup> v, 1010–1024.

34 Krachkovskiy 1957.

35 GAL I, 626–635, Suppl. I, 402–411.

literature in four volumes.<sup>36</sup> The new synthesis on the Islamic geography is in the *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* of Fuat Sezgin.<sup>37</sup>

The last decades have seen significant progress in the collection of information from the Muslim literature about Eastern Europe. Zahoder surveyed the Muslim geographical literature on medieval Eastern Europe in the 1960s.<sup>38</sup> Kalinina and Kolovanova published several works in this field.<sup>39</sup> Lewicki has initiated the project of editing the Muslim sources about the early Slavic speaking peoples, and five volumes have so far been published.<sup>40</sup> Hannick surveyed the Muslim literature on the Slavs.<sup>41</sup> The medieval trade routes through Eastern Europe became a new focus of studies, Muslim sources drawing particular attention in this respect.<sup>42</sup>

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36 Miquel, 1973, 1975, 1980, 1988.

37 GAS X–XV.

38 Zahoder 1962, 1967.

39 Kalinina 1988; Konovalova 2006; Kalinina, Konovalova, Petruhin 2009.

40 Lewicki 1956, 1969, 1977, 1985.

41 Hannick 1993, 39–46.

42 Richter-Bernburg 1987, 667–685; Haussig 1988; Nazmi 1998.

# The Jayhānī Tradition

## 1 The Personality of al-Jayhānī

The name al-Jayhānī refers to a geographer at the court of the Samanids in the 10th century. Several members of the al-Jayhānī family acquired high positions and had an education that allowed them to pursue serious literary activities.

The first family member who gained great reputation and rose to a higher state position was Abū Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ‘Abdallāh al-Jayhānī. In 913, he was appointed guardian of the 8-year-old Samanid emir Naṣr ibn Aḥmad (914–943), and was *wazīr* during the emir’s reign.<sup>1</sup> Narshakhī writes of him in 918 that Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Jayhānī had a minaret built at his own expense, after the great mosque in Bukhara was destroyed, and that he was *wazīr* at that time.<sup>2</sup> Ibn Faḍlān met with al-Jayhānī in 921: “We continued to Baykand and then entered into Bukhara. There we paid visit to the chancellor of the governor of Khurāsān, al-Jayhānī, whom people in Khurāsān call ‘the elder bulwark’.<sup>3</sup> He moved at once to obtain quarters for us and appointed a man to look after our needs, and in general to satisfy any desires we had. After staying in Bukhara several days, he obtained for us an audience with the governor Naṣr ibn Ahmad.”<sup>4</sup> In any case, according to Ibn Faḍlān, al-Jayhānī was still playing a dominant role in political affairs at that time. The end of his term in office, and the time of his death are unknown. ‘Ubaydallāh ibn Aḥmad al-Jayhānī was probably his brother, as they both were the sons of an Aḥmad al-Jayhānī. ‘Ubaydallāh was mentioned as the governor of the city of Bust in about 913. The son of Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Jayhānī was Abū ‘Alī

1 Kmoskó 1/1, 54–55; Frye 1954, 95, 154–155; note 323; GAS XIV, 184–189.

2 Frye 1954, 50.

3 *Al-shaykh al-‘amīd*. The first word means ‘old man, chief, chieftain,’ referring to a leader, while the second is a title of honor bestowed upon high civil officials at the Samanid court, its meaning being ‘support; head, chief’. Lewicki pointed out that the title may be connected with him being responsible for the execution of the emir’s political affairs, as described in Ibn Faḍlān’s account. He met and organized the program of the embassy of the Caliph in Bukhara. Lewicki 185, 127, note 61; Canard 1958, 97, note 27; Cl. Cahen, ‘amīd: EI<sup>2</sup>.I, 434.

4 Togan, 1939, 6–7; Frye 2005, 27.

Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Jayhānī, who took the position of *wazīr* at the court of the Samanid emir Naṣr ibn Aḥmad in 938, and died in 941. His son was Abū ‘Abdallāh Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Jayhānī, serving as *wazīr* between 974 and 976.<sup>5</sup> All in all, the father, son and grandson held the office of the *wazīr* during the Samanid rule in Transoxania. This was the basis for many misunderstandings. Al-Nadīm, in his work entitled *Fihrist*, confused al-Jayhānī, appointed *wazīr* in 913, with his grandson when describing al-Jayhānī’s activity. Yāqūt, using the work of al-Nadīm, made the confusion even worse by mixing up all three successive generations of the Jayhānī family. More recently, Pellat suspected that the large geographical compendium was not the work of a single author, but was a family enterprise. According to him, the first draft of the geography was composed by al-Jayhānī, who had been appointed *wazīr* in 913, but the completion was left to his son and his grandson, since al-Mas‘ūdī mentioned his geographical work only in his last work (*Tanbīh*) completed shortly before 957, but he did not refer to it in his major work (*Murūj*) in 943.<sup>6</sup>

Much like his Byzantine counterpart, Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, as *wazīr* of the Samanids, al-Jayhānī had the necessary means to collect reliable and historically credible information. He was able to use not only the public libraries in Bukhara, but the official book collection of the court and archival material. He also had access to diplomatic reports. Ibn Faḍlān’s testimony is relevant in that respect. When comparing the information on the Volga Bulgars in the Jayhānī tradition to Ibn Faḍlān’s report, one might draw the conclusion that on their way back to Baghdad, the envoys of the Caliph stopped in Bukhara and al-Jayhānī collected the information from them. Al-Muqaddasī, an outstanding representative of the Muslim geographical literature of the end of the 10th century, gives a perfect description including sharp critical remarks on al-Jayhānī’s work: “First of all, there was Abū’l-‘Abdallāh Jayhānī; he was minister to the Amīr of Khurāsān, and he cultivated the pursuits of philosophy, astrology and astronomy. He assembled around himself some foreigners and questioned them about the countries and their revenues, the condition of roads thither, the elevation of the stars above the horizons there, and the length of the meridian shadows cast by the sun. His design was by these means to achieve conquest of the territories, and to acquire knowledge of the resources of countries. Do you not see how he divided the world into seven regions, assigning a planet to each region? At times he would talk about

5 Bosworth 2011, 60, 70.

6 C. Pellat, al-Djayhānī: *Et*<sup>2</sup> *Suppl*, 256.

the stars and mathematics; then he would move to a discussion of something that is of no interest to people at large. Now he is describing the idols of Hind, now the wonders of al-Sind; then he gives details of taxes and revenues. I have found him mention stations that are otherwise unknown, and traveling stages that have been abandoned. At the same time, he has not subdivided the districts, nor classified the military districts; neither has he described the cities, or enumerated them. Rather, he just mentioned the routes to the east, the west, the north, and the south, with an outline of the plains, the mountains, the valleys, the hills, the woods and the rivers that are there. Thus his book was drawn out to a great length, while he neglected to mention most of the routes of the military districts, and to describe the important cities.”<sup>7</sup> Gardīzī has something similar to say about him: “The official exercising administrative authority on his behalf was Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Jayhānī, who took up the reins of government in a laudable fashion and was running affairs. Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Jayhānī was a knowledgeable person, very intelligent, strong-willed and virtuous, and he showed percipience and foresight in all matters. He was the author of many compositions in every genre and branch of learning. When he assumed the vizierate, he wrote letters to all the lands of the world and asked for accounts to be written concerning the customs and practices of every court and every government office. These accounts were written out and brought to him, including those from such lands as those of Byzantium, Turkistān, Hindūstān, China, ‘Irāq, Syria, Egypt, the land of Zanj, Zābul, Kābul, Sind, and the land of the Arabs. All these customs and practices of the world were brought to him and all those written accounts set down before him. He examined them very closely, and he selected every custom and practice that was specially good and commendable but set aside the less praiseworthy ones. He adopted those good customs and practices, and gave orders that all the personnel of the court and central Dīwān at Bukhara should employ them. Thanks to al-Jayhānī’s good judgement and statemanship, all affairs of the realm now ran on orderly lines.”<sup>8</sup> These accounts prove clearly that al-Jayhānī collected new information regularly using both written and oral sources. According to al-Nadīm’s *Fihrist*, al-Jayhānī was a follower of Manichaeism: al-Jayhānī Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad was one of those theologians (*mutakallimūn*), who was formally Muslim but in secret supporter of the doctrine of *zandaqa*.<sup>9</sup> It

7 BGA III, 3–4; Collins 1994, 3–4; Minorovsky 1937, xviii.

8 Bosworth 2011, 57; cf. Minorovsky 1937, xvii.

9 (Kmoskó 1/1, 58; Dodge 1970, 804) Heresy, which points to the Manichaeans. Manichaeism





## 2 Al-Jayhānī's Literary Activity and His Geographical Work

The *Fihrist* mentions four books written by al-Jayhānī:

- a) *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik* "The book of Routes and Kingdoms,"
- b) *Kitāb al-āyin*<sup>14</sup> *maqālāt kutub 'uhūd li-l-khulafā' wa-l-umarā'* "The Book of Usage of Examples for Writing Contracts of Caliphs and Governors"
- c) *Kitāb al-ziyādāt fī kitāb āyin fī-l-maqālāt* "The Book of Additions to the Book of Usage of Examples"
- d) *Kitāb rasā'il* "The Book of Epistles"<sup>15</sup>

All these works point to an author experienced in politics, as every book is connected with state affairs.

Al-Jayhānī's geographical work, the *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*, 'The Book of Routes and Kingdoms,' has been lost, and its contents can only be reconstructed from the works of the authors who copied some parts of it. Although a book with the same title was found in the Shiite Library of Mashhad in the 1920s, it turned out not to be al-Jayhānī's, but a new manuscript containing the works of al-Hamadhānī, Ibn Faḍlān and Abū Dulaf.<sup>16</sup> Al-Jayhānī's geographical work existed in two versions during the second half of the 10th century. Al-Muqaddasī wrote: "I saw his work, in seven volumes, in the libraries of 'Aḍud al-Dawla,<sup>17</sup> though not ascribed to him. Indeed some ascribe the authorship to Ibn Khurradāhbīh. I have seen, moreover, in Nishāpūr, two succinct works of which one is ascribed to al-Jayhānī, the other bearing the name of Ibn Khurradāhbīh as author. They agreed with each other in substance, except that al-Jayhānī had provided some additional matter."<sup>18</sup>

Al-Jayhānī's geographical compendium was widely used in Muslim literature. Several authors relied on it. The first reference is in the *Fihrist*, where it is stated that Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadhānī wrote several books, including: "The Towns (Regions), about one thousand leaves—he derived it from the people's books and plagiarism from the book of al-Jayhānī, [Roads and King-

14 The word *ā'in* is of Persian origin and means 'law, rite, institution.' Originally used to describe the institutions of state by Sassanid Persia, it later entered the Muslim tradition (F. Gabrieli *Ā'in*: EI<sup>2</sup> I, 306).

15 *Fihrist*, 1181–1184; Dodge 1970, 302; Kmoskó 1/1, 50.

16 Janicsek 1928–1930, 15–25; Minorsky 1959, 80–96.

17 One of the most eminent rulers of the Buyiden (936–983): H. Bowen, EI<sup>2</sup> I, 211–212.

18 BGA III, 4, note Collins 1994, 4; cf. Ducène 1998, 263.

doms].”<sup>19</sup> The author wrote his geographical book in 902/3.<sup>20</sup> Narshakhī mentioned it around 943/44 in the description of Bukhara. Kmoskó and Ducène collected all quotes from al-Jayhānī’s book.<sup>21</sup> In spite of al-Muqaddasī’s criticism, al-Jayhānī’s work seems to have included an introduction to the climatic system, as well as a description of the roads to the various regions and countries, and their geographical and political conditions. Al-Mas‘ūdī wrote in his *Kitāb al-tanbīh* (before 957): “Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Jayhānī, the minister of Naṣr ibn Aḥmad ibn Ismā‘īl ibn Aḥmad ibn Asad, the prince of Khurāsān, wrote a book on the description of the world and the reports about the wonders, then towns, the cities, the seas, the rivers, the peoples and their habitats and other wonderful reports and interesting stories.”<sup>22</sup>

The quotes from al-Jayhānī in subsequent works are summarized in the following table:

Narshakhī	Bukhara
Ibn Ḥawqal	length and extent Khurāsān
al-Maqdisī	Budhists China a subterranean river in the land of the Turks
al-Muqaddasī	General criticism Number of the seas Nile Khurāsān Sogd Iraq
al-Birūnī	Hind-Sea Qayrawān Bukhara Khotan—Tibet—China Syria
Gardīzī	India Turks

19 Dodge 1970, 337–338.

20 H. Massé, *Ibn al-Faḥīh*: EI<sup>2</sup> III, 761–762.

21 Kmoskó 1/1, 59–63; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 13–22; Ducène 1998, 268–274.

22 BGA VIII, 75; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 13; Ducène 1998, 262.

al-Bakrī	Amu-Darya Arabian Peninsula, East Hind-Sea great rivers, Amu-Darya India China Turks Kurds
Ibn Rusta	India Hārūn ibn Yahyā
<i>Ḥudūd al-‘ālam</i>	China Tibet Turks Kashmir Bulgar
al-Marwazī	China Kimāk Musk India
al-Idrīsī	Gog and Magog Itinerary of the interpreter Sallām
Yāqūt	Sogdiana
al-Qazwīnī	Syria Qayrawān
al-Rāzī	Azerbaijan

Judging from the surviving quotations, the work of al-Jayhānī must have included a geographical description of his homeland, Sogdiana, i.e. Transoxania and Khurāsān, but also of the eastern half of the Muslim world (*Mashriq*): Iran, the Arabian Peninsula, Syria and Azerbaijan. There is no mention of Egypt, but Qayrawān in North Africa appears to have been mentioned in his book. The regions outside the Islamic world, China, Tibet and India, were important to the Samanid dynasty. The peoples of the Eurasian steppe were also of particular interest to the Samanids, as soldiers in their army were recruited from among the nomads living north of Transoxania, and they represented a permanent threat for the Islamic lands that entailed permanent military readiness to defend Sogdiana. The policy of Islamicization of the neighboring Turkic-speaking tribes may have been worked out by al-Jayhānī in order to secure the northern borders of Islam. The first consequence of that policy was the official acceptance of Islam in 922 by the king of the Volga Bulgars, Almish.

Kmoskó made the first step in reconstructing al-Jayhānī's book. Al-Bakrī quotes al-Jayhānī's description of the Amu Darya. The same text is then found in the works of Ibn Rusta and al-Maqdisī, but is different from the parallel passage in Ibn Khurdādhbih. On the basis of the passages surviving in Ibn Rusta and al-Maqdisī, Kmoskó reconstructed seven chapters of al-Jayhānī's book:

1. The description of the seas<sup>23</sup>
2. The description of the rivers<sup>24</sup>
3. The description of the seven climates<sup>25</sup>
4. The East European peoples<sup>26</sup>
5. A list of the routes leading from Iraq to Mecca<sup>27</sup>
6. A shorter version of the itinerary of the interpreter Sallām appears in Ibn Khurdādhbih,<sup>28</sup> whose work was the main source for al-Jayhānī. However Ibn Khurdādhbih did not write about the people called Basjirt, whereas al-Idrīsī, while quoting the longer version of the trip, gave an account of them, referring to al-Jayhānī's work as his source.<sup>29</sup>
7. Hārūn ibn Yahyā's passage on the Byzantine Empire and its neighbours preserved in Ibn Rusta also belongs to the Jayhānī tradition.<sup>30</sup>

Minorsky later added two other passages to the list, using the works of Gardīzī and al-Marwazī:

8. India<sup>31</sup>
9. China.<sup>32</sup>

The date of composition of the geographical work is a matter of debate, and to complicate matters even further, it remains unclear whether this was a single work, or whether revised shorter and longer versions were published under the name of the same author. Be that as it may, the work had seven volumes,

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23 Ibn Rusta BGA VII, 83; al-Maqdisī, IV, 51.

24 Ibn Rusta BGA VII, 89; al-Maqdisī, IV, 53.

25 Ibn Rusta BGA VII, 96; al-Maqdisī, IV, 47.

26 Ibn Rusta BGA VII, 145–147; al-Maqdisī, IV, 62–63.

27 Ibn Rusta BGA VII, 185; al-Maqdisī, IV, 85.

28 BGA VI, 162–170.

29 al-Idrīsī, 934–938.

30 BGA VII, 119–130; cf. Kmoskó I/1, 59–63.

31 Minorsky 1942, 62–63.

32 Minorsky, 1942, 123–127.

with a shorter version appearing at some point during the second half of the 10th century. Al-Jayhānī must have completed his geographic compendium in the mid-10th century, for Narshakhī cited it in 943 and al-Masʿūdī shortly before 957. Since Ibn Rusta copied several accounts from the book of al-Jayhānī, the latter should have been available for him. Ibn Rusta claimed that he had visited Medina in 903, which Hvol'son took as evidence Ibn Rusta finished his work only after 903.<sup>33</sup> As he came from Iṣfahān, a Muslim province on the southern coast of the Caspian Sea which had been attacked by the Rūs in 913—an event otherwise not mentioned by Ibn Rusta—his work must have been written before the Rūs' raid, i.e., between 903 and 913.<sup>34</sup> This line of reasoning was rejected by Zahoder, who rightly argued that there can be no expectation of a geographical work recording current events.<sup>35</sup> On the other hand, Marquart believed that the name of the Bulgar ruler Almish became known only after his conversion, which is connected with the embassy sent by the Caliph of Baghdad in 921/922. The report of the envoys' trip was written by one of them, Ibn Faḍlān.<sup>36</sup> Kmoskó and Czeglédy accepted the argument, while Zahoder discovered more similarities between Ibn Rusta and Ibn Faḍlān.<sup>37</sup> I have also compared the Volga Bulgar chapter of the Jayhānī tradition with Ibn Faḍlān's information and come to the conclusion that al-Jayhānī wrote the account using Ibn Faḍlān's information, which was gathered during his stop in Bukhara on his way back to Baghdad.<sup>38</sup> It is therefore probable that al-Jayhānī's geographical work was compiled in different phases: the first version must have been composed in the first years of the 10th century (prior to 903), then revised and supplemented, either by the author himself or by his son—as Pellat supposed<sup>39</sup>—after 922. In the mid-10th century, al-Jayhānī's 'Book of Routes and Kingdoms' was known to many. Al-Muqaddasī used the seven-volume, complete version as well as the shorter version during the second half of the 10th century.

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33 BGA VII, 73.

34 Hvol'son 1869, 4.

35 Zahoder 1962, 67.

36 Marquart, 1903, 25–26.

37 Kmoskó 1/1, 68–69; МЕН, 84–85; Zahoder 1962, 56.

38 Zimonyi 1990, 116–154.

39 C. Pellat, al-Djayhānī: EI<sup>2</sup> Suppl, 256.

### 3 The Sources of al-Jayhānī's Geographical Work

As already mentioned, al-Jayhānī must have had access to the material of the diplomatic and state archives of the Samanid court, but he also consulted the basic books of Arabic literature available to him in the libraries of Bukhara. As for the source of al-Jayhānī's geographical book, al-Muqaddasī wrote: "Do you not realize that if you read the book of al-Jayhānī, you will see that it contains all of the original work of of Ibn Khurdādhbih, and that it is on this that he built his work?"<sup>40</sup> On the basis of a comparison of the passages attributed to al-Jayhānī with existing versions of Ibn Khurdādhbih, Kmoskó concluded that al-Jayhānī revised and composed an enlarged edition of his predecessor.<sup>41</sup>

#### *Ibn Khurdādhbih*<sup>42</sup>

Ibn Khurdādhbih received an excellent education from his father, and he was a postmaster in Jibāl for a long time; at the same time he was an intimate counselor of the Caliph al-Mu'tamid (870–892). Mention must be made of his historical work focused on the history of the Persians. His geographical work, *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*, 'The Book of Routes and Kingdoms' survives in two manuscripts: the earliest is now in the National Library in Vienna and dates back to the 12th century, while the other is in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, and is dated to 1232. De Goeje published his critical edition on the basis of both manuscripts, which he translated into French.<sup>43</sup> Ibn Khurdādhbih can be regarded as the initiator of Arabic geographical literature, as he created the genre and its style. He probably took a description of Iran from an Arabic translation of a Persian work, but Ptolemy's *Geography* also was known to him.<sup>44</sup> Ibn Khurdādhbih was the founder of the so-called Iraqi school of geographical literature. The members of this school may be divided into two groups. Ibn Khurdādhbih, al-Mas'ūdī and al-Ya'qūbī followed the Iranian *kish-war*<sup>45</sup> system, and they placed Iraq, the heartland of the former Persian Empire,

40 BGA III, 241; Collins 1994, 215; Kmoskó 1/1, 61.

41 Kmoskó 1/1, 61, note 85.

42 Kmoskó 1/1, 40–42; GAL I, 225; Lewicki I, 43–64; Krachkovskiy 1957, 147–150; Miquel 1973 I, xxi, 87–92; Velihanova 1986; M. Hadj-Sadok, Ibn Kkhurrādādhbih: EI<sup>2</sup> III, 839–840; GAS XIV, 155–163.

43 BGA VI, 1–183.

44 Maqbul Ahmad, *Djughrāfiyā*: EI<sup>2</sup> II, 580.

45 According to this concept, the earth is divided into seven zones of equal size. The fourth zone is the center, around which the other six are grouped. The central zone is Irānshahr, Sasanid Persia (Maqbul Ahmad, *Djughrāfiyā*: EI<sup>2</sup> II, 577; Miquel 1975, 58).

at the center of the description. By contrast, Qudāma, Ibn al-Faqīh and Ibn Rusta presented Mecca as the focus of the geographic composition. Ibn Khurdādhbih arranged his material according to the four cardinal directions, while Ibn Rusta and Ibn al-Faqīh described the countries province by province.<sup>46</sup> As for the date of composition of Ibn Khurdādhbih's work, the matter is complicated, as that work was reconstructed in two versions: the earlier was finished in 846 and is identified with manuscript B in the edition. The author must have revised it, and the final version was completed in 885 (manuscript A). The Russian Arabist Krachkovskiy argued against this idea and proposed instead a single redaction.<sup>47</sup> Later authors copied copiously from Ibn Khurdādhbih's work: beside al-Jayhānī, Qudāma also used it, as well as Ibn al-Faqīh and al-Mas'ūdī.

Kmoskó and Lewicki have translated the sections concerning the Eurasian steppe into Hungarian and Polish, respectively.<sup>48</sup> In his reports on Inner Asia, Ibn Khurdādhbih gives the titles of the Turkic rulers on the one hand, and a description of the travel routes leading from Transoxania to the Turks on the other. This latter account was based primarily on the report of the journey of Tamīm ibn Baḥr, who visited Beshbaliq, the western capital of the Uygur Khaganate, at some point during the first half of the 9th century.<sup>49</sup> Then, Ibn Khurdādhbih gives a list of Turkic-speaking peoples, among which Kmoskó and Minorsky identified the name الجفر *al-jf.r* as a corrupt form of 'Magyar' المجفر *al-majghar*.<sup>50</sup> Ibn al-Khurdādhbih copied the description of Byzantium from the work of al-Jarmī. The neighboring peoples and territories belonging to Byzantium receive special attention.<sup>51</sup> The data about Eastern Europe, including Azerbaijan, Armenia and Khazaria, are to be found in the reports on the travel routes through the Caucasus. The body of the book consists mainly of itineraries. The account of the routes of the Jewish and Rūs merchants<sup>52</sup> and the travel of the interpreter Sallām through the Caucasus and the Khazar Khaganate to the wall of Gog and Magog<sup>53</sup> are of primary interest for the history of Eastern Europe. Ibn Khurdādhbih's information in his geographical work

46 Maqbul Ahmad, *Djuḡhrāfiyā*: E1<sup>2</sup> II, 579–580.

47 Krachkovskiy 1957, 148.

48 Kmoskó 1/1, 93–133; Lewicki 1, 66–157.

49 Kmoskó 1/1, 105–107; Minorsky 1948, 275–305; GAS XV, 87–88.

50 BGA VI, 31; Kmoskó 1/1, 108, note 252.

51 Kmoskó 1/1, 109–113.

52 Kmoskó 1/1, 121–122.

53 Kmoskó 1/1, 123–133; GAS XV, 95–97.



may thus be divided into three different categories: list of titles of the rulers and princes, the description of the various trade routes, and reports of the merchants and embassies. It is difficult to decide whether al-Jayhānī made use of another, fuller version of Ibn Khurdādhbih's work that has not come down to modern times.

#### 4 The Works Which Preserved the Jayhānī Tradition

##### *Ibn Rusta*<sup>54</sup>

The only thing known about Ibn Rusta is that he was from the region of Iṣfahān. As mentioned above, the date of the composition of his work is associated with two events: his pilgrimage to Mecca in 903, and the Rūs attack of 913. However, the pilgrimage may well be a citation from some other compendium, while the absence of any reference to the attack is an *argumentum ex silentio*, which is very problematic in the case of a geographical work. Ibn Rusta's *Kitāb al-a'lāq al-naḥīsa* "The Book of Precious Gems" is a kind of encyclopedia for educated people. Only Book VII has survived. The manuscript is in the British Museum (Add. 23 378) and is dated to 1254. There is another manuscript in Cambridge (Or 920 [8]), a later copy of the manuscript in the British Museum. I have studied both manuscripts in relation to the passage concerning the Magyars (f. 117<sup>r</sup>–118<sup>r</sup>), and noted that they both contain the same text. The chapters on Eastern Europe were initially published on the basis of the British Museum manuscript, together with a Russian translation.<sup>55</sup> De Goeje published the same complete manuscript, which was then translated into French by Wiet.<sup>56</sup> The parts concerning Eastern Europe were published together with a Polish translation and a detailed commentary.<sup>57</sup> The same chapters were translated into Hungarian by Géza Kuun and Mihály Kmoskó, while Károly Czeglédy translated the chapters on the Khazars, Volga Bulgars, Magyars, and Slavs for the source-book compiled by György Györffy.<sup>58</sup> Finally, I offered a revised translation of the Magyar chapter for the collection of written sources regarding the Conquest.<sup>59</sup>

54 Kmoskó 1/1, 66–69; Krachkovskiy 1957, 159–160; Miquel 1973, XXII–XXIII, 192–202; Maqbul Ahmad, Ibn Rusta: E<sup>2</sup> III, 920; Donzel, Schmidt 2009, 131–266; GAS XIV, 179–183.

55 Hvol'son 1869.

56 BGA VII, 1–229; Wiet 1955.

57 Lewicki 1977.

58 Kuun 1900, 152–194; Kmoskó 1/1, 203–216; MEH 86–94; see Czeglédy, MÓT, 36–37.

59 HKÍF, 32–34; cf. Zimonyi 1996, 57–58.

Zahoder pointed out that the chapters on Eastern Europe in Ibn Rusta's work were placed between the descriptions of India and Ṭabaristān, with no subtitle. This suggests that the chapters in question were not in Ibn Rusta's original compendium, but must have been inserted later by a scribe, who took them from somewhere else.<sup>60</sup>

### *Hudūd al-ʿālam*

The author of *Hudūd al-ʿālam* "The Regions of the World" remains unknown, although he was certainly Persian. The book was written in 982 and dedicated to a member of the Farīghūnid dynasty, which ruled over the province of Jūzjān in northern Afghanistan.<sup>61</sup> The only extant manuscript is dated to 1258, and is now in St. Petersburg. Barthold published a facsimile edition, accompanied by a detailed introduction in Russian. Minorsky translated Barthold's introduction and the whole Persian text into English. He also added a philological and historical commentary.<sup>62</sup> The text was finally published by Manoochehr Sotoodeh.<sup>63</sup> For the second edition of his book, Minorsky took into consideration the edition published in Iran and made several additions to his commentary.<sup>64</sup> There are several Hungarian translations of the chapters concerning the Magyars, the Moravians, the Pechenegs and the so-called W.n.nd.r (Danube Bulgars).<sup>65</sup>

The geographical work consists of a series of comments on a collection of maps, which have unfortunately been lost. According to Minorsky, the author took his information about the Islamic world from the Balkhī tradition, while excerpting al-Jayhānī's book for the description of countries outside the sphere of the Caliphate.<sup>66</sup>

### *Gardīzī*<sup>67</sup>

Not much is known about Gardīzī, besides the fact that he served at the Ghaznavid court and completed his work between 1050 and 1053, during the

60 Zahoder 1962, 69.

61 D.M. Dunlop, *Farīghūnids*: EI<sup>2</sup> II, 798; R. Hartmann, *Djūzjdjān*: EI<sup>2</sup> II, 608.

62 Barthold 1930; Minorsky 1937.

63 Sotoodeh 1962.

64 ed. Bosworth, London, 1970.

65 Czeglédy, *MÓT*, 38; Nyitrai 1996, 67; HKÍF, 41–43.

66 Minorsky 1937, XIV–XIX.

67 W. Barthold, *Gardīzī*: EI<sup>2</sup> II, 978; Nyitrai 1996, 67–73; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 36–42; E. Bosworth, *Gadīzī*: *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. <http://www.iranicaonline.org>; Meisami 1999, 65–79; Bosworth 2011; *GAS* XIV, 254–255.

reign of ‘Abd al-Rashīd. This work, *Zayn al-akhbār*, ‘The Ornament of Histories’ is an important source for the history of eastern Persia. The older version, dating from the early 16th century, was prepared in India and is known from a manuscript in Cambridge, while the other is in Oxford, a late 18th-century copy of the former made in England. A critical edition of the work was published in 1963,<sup>68</sup> its English translation is from 2011.<sup>69</sup> The section on the Eurasian steppe including Eastern Europe was published by Kuun and Barthold on the basis of the Oxford manuscript, together with a Hungarian and Russian translation, respectively.<sup>70</sup> Kmoskó prepared the critical edition of the chapters on the Turkic peoples on the basis of both manuscripts, accompanied by a German translation and commentary. His work remained unpublished, but formed the basis of the new German translation published by Hansgerd Göckenjan and myself.<sup>71</sup> Martínez published an English translation of the chapters on the steppe, on the basis of a facsimile of the Cambridge manuscript.<sup>72</sup> The Magyar chapter has also several Hungarian translations.<sup>73</sup> The chapters concerning Eastern Europe have also been translated into Polish.<sup>74</sup>

### *Al-Bakrī*<sup>75</sup>

Al-Bakrī, one of the most famous geographers of the Muslim West, lived in 11th-century al-Andalus. His father was the ruler of Huelva, a *taifa* kingdom established in 1012. By 1051, he was forced to recognize the overlordship of the ruler of Seville. At that time, al-Bakrī must have been about thirty years old, and he moved to Córdoba with his father. They may have even settled for a while in Seville. He was the pupil of the great Andalusī historian Ibn Ḥayyān. After winning fame for himself, he traveled to many *taifa* principalities in al-Andalus. After the Almoravid takeover, he established himself in Córdoba, where he is known to have died in 1094.

68 Ḥabībī 1963.

69 Bosworth 2011.

70 Kuun 1900, 150–194, 1901–1904; Barthold 1897, 78–126.

71 Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 95–190.

72 Martínez 1982, 109–217.

73 Kuun 1900, 167–173; Kmoskó 1927, 19–20; Czeglédy МÓТ, 36–37; Nyitrai 1996, 72–73; НКІФ 35–38.

74 Chwiłkowska 1978, 148.

75 Kmoskó 1/1, 79–80; Krachkovskiy 1957, 275–280; E. Levi-Provençal, Abū ‘Ubayd al-Bakrī: EI<sup>2</sup> I, 155; Leeuwen, Ferre 1992, 5–33; GAS XIV, 258–262, XV, 25–27.

Although known primarily as a geographer, al-Bakrī also composed theological, philological and botanical works. Two geographical books have come down to us: he dealt with the geographical names of the Arabian Peninsula in his first work, while the other belongs to the classical genre of *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*, 'The Book of Routes and Kingdoms.' The latter combines the established traditions of the earlier geographical literature and contains descriptions of travel routes, empires, peoples and territories, anecdotes, legendary stories, and historical excursions.

Al-Bakrī's new edition was published in two volumes. The first volume contains a long historical section from the Creation to the Prophet Muḥammad. The next chapter concerns the religious life of the pagan Arabs, Greeks, Romans, Persians, Slavs and Chinese. It is followed by a geographical introduction: the description of the earth, oceans, and rivers, and the seven climes. In describing countries the author used a uniform pattern: a historical introduction, a general description the country and the people, the local products, and its travel routes. Each section includes some interesting stories or anecdotes. Al-Bakrī ordered his material according to the points of the compass from east to west. The description of China and the Turkic-speaking peoples follows that of India, Syria, Tibet and Sind. Then al-Bakrī turns to the old and new Persian dynasties, Alexander the Great, the Greek rulers of Egypt, Syria, and Byzantium, then the rulers of the Blacks, the Berbers, Africa, Europe, the Slavs, Franks, and Normandy, with the Kurds at the end. As for the Arabs, al-Bakrī starts with the ancient kings of Yemen and Hira, then moves on to a geographical description of the Arabian Peninsula and of the two holy cities, Mecca and Medina. That is followed by the geographical description of the Muslim East, including Iraq, Persia, Babylon, Khurāsān, and Transoxania. The Turkic-speaking peoples, such as Pechenegs, Khazars, Magyars, Sarīr, Burtās, and Burjān, appear at the end of the first volume. The second volume begins with the trip of the interpreter Sallām to the wall of Gog and Magog. Afterwards, al-Bakrī gives a description of the major cities of Syria, such as Damascus, Homs, and Antioch, followed by a detailed description of Palestine and Jerusalem, Byzantium and Rome, Southeastern Europe including Thrace, Thessaly, Macedonia, Hungary, and finally, the land of Rūs. From there, the author turns to Egypt and North Africa. Finally, he finishes the work with his homeland, al-Andalus.

The value of al-Bakrī's geographical compendium resides in his collection and careful copying of works that have meanwhile been lost. He was not a traveler, for he most certainly did not have any experience of the world outside al-Andalus. Instead, he used the historical works of al-Ṭabarī (*Kitāb aḥbār al-rusul wa-l-mulūk* 'Book of Stories of the Prophets and Kings'), al-Mas'ūdī (*Kitāb*

*murūj al-dhahab wa-ma'ādīn al-jawhar* 'Book of Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems'), Ibn Qutayba (*Kitāb al-ma'rif* 'Book of Knowledge'), and even an Arabic translation of Orosius. Al-Bakrī relied also on the works of Ibn Khurdādhbih and al-Jayhānī, as well as on Ibn Rusta. The picture of this intertextual work, however, is even more complicated, because he seems to have had access to several variants of the same description. This is definitely the case of the Magyar chapter, which is based on the Jayhānī tradition, but with an interpolation from the account of the Khazars represented in that same tradition.<sup>76</sup> The geographical book of al-Bakrī was widely circulated in the Muslim world. It was known to al-'Umarī, al-Qazwīnī, and al-Dimashqī.<sup>77</sup> The version of the text available to al-Ḥimyarī<sup>78</sup> appears to be different from that in the extant manuscripts of al-Bakrī's work.

Kunik and Rozen published nine chapters concerning Eastern Europe together with a Russian translation.<sup>79</sup> Kmoskó translated those passages into Hungarian.<sup>80</sup> The first two of the nine chapters deal with the biblical descent of the peoples of Eastern Europe. The third deals with the sacred places of the Slavs, and is copied from al-Mas'ūdī. The fourth focuses on the Mediterranean Sea and is taken from al-Hamadhānī, while the fifth is a description of the Black Sea based on al-Mas'ūdī. The sixth chapter contains a description of the Amu Darya, copied from al-Jayhānī, while the seventh chapter is an excerpt from al-Mas'ūdī's chapter on the Caucasus. Finally, the eighth chapter is the description on Eastern Europe taken from the Andalusī Jewish merchant Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'qūb (which includes a reference to the Magyars as Turks), while the ninth chapter is based on the Jayhānī tradition.<sup>81</sup>

Kowalski published the chapter based on Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'qūb in 1946, on the basis of a manuscript discovered in Constantinople. Hajji later published the

76 Kmoskó 1/1, 200.

77 Lech 1968; Kmoskó 1/1, 87–89; D.M. Dunlop, al-Dimaṣḡī: EI<sup>2</sup> II, 291; T. Lewicki, al-Ḳazwīnī: EI<sup>2</sup> IV, 865.

78 T. Lewicki, Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyarī: EI<sup>2</sup> III, 675; edition: 'Abbās 1975; GAS XV, 39–41.

79 Kunik, Rozen 1878.

80 Kmoskó 1/2, 229–258.

81 Geramb, Mackensen 1927, 11–18; recent edition with Polish and Latin translation: Kowalski 1946; English translation: Mishin 1996, 184–196. For Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'qūb, see Krachkovskiy 1957, 190–192; Miquel 1973, xxxii, 1975, 316–319; A. Miquel, Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'qūb: EI<sup>2</sup> III, 991; Spuler 1938, 1–10; Warnke 1965, 393–415; Canard 1962, 503–508; Miquel, 1966, 1048–1064; Hajji 1970, 22–40. The Magyar chapter of al-Bakrī copied from al-Jayhānī has several Hungarian translations: Kuun 1900, 195; Kmoskó 1/2, 256; НКІР 39–40.

chapters on al-Andalus and Europe. It is important to note that al-Bakrī uses Hārūn ibn Yaḥyā for his description of Byzantium, which has a parallel in Ibn Rusta. Both mention the 10,000 Turks (presumably Magyars) and Khazars as imperial bodyguards.<sup>82</sup>

Leeuwen and Ferre first published the geographical work in its entirety in 1992 on the basis of ten manuscripts. They reconstructed the text from three manuscripts, complementing it with additions from other, later manuscripts and with information from al-Ḥimyarī.<sup>83</sup>

During the publication of Kmoskó's work, I used al-Bakrī's new edition and discovered a new chapter on Hungary during the search for the missing chapter on the Rūs.<sup>84</sup> I have thus established that the work of al-Bakrī actually contains at least four accounts on the Magyars, all from independent sources.

### *Abū'l-Fidā'*

Abū'l-Fidā' was born in Damascus in 1273 and died in Ḥamāh in 1331. He played an important political role in the history of late 13th- and early 14th-century Syria. His geographical work, *Taqwīm al-buldān*, 'Locating the Lands' is divided into a general introduction and descriptions of each country.<sup>85</sup> Abū Abū'l-Fidā' drew his description of Hungary from the book of al-Bakrī.<sup>86</sup>

### *Al-Marwazī*<sup>87</sup>

A physician at the court of the Seljukid Malik Shāh and of his successor, al-Marwazī was a physician, geographer and naturalist from Merv, who died some time after 1120. His major work, *Ṭabā'ī' al-ḥayawān* 'The Natural Properties of Living Beings' is in fact a dissertation on zoology, but with a geographical chapter in the introduction. Minorsky published the sections on China, the Turks, and India with an English translation and extensive comments.<sup>88</sup> Minorsky pointed out in the introduction to his edition that al-Marwazī's main

82 Hajji 1968, 196; Hārūn ibn Yaḥyā twice mentions the Turkic bodyguards in his report (Kmoskó 1/1, 185, 188; КМІФ 27–28).

83 Leeuwen, Ferre 1992.

84 In square brackets: Kmoskó 1/2, 257–258; Zimonyi 2001, 88–96; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 230–234; Zimonyi 2004, 22–31.

85 Kmoskó 1/1, 9–92; Krachkovskiy 1957, 386–394; H.A.R. Gibb, Abū'l-Fidā: EI<sup>2</sup> I, 118.

86 Géographie d'Aboulféda 1840, 230.

87 Krachkovskiy 1957, 270; C.E. Bosworth, al-Marwazī: EI<sup>2</sup> VI, 628; GAS XIV, 263–264.

88 Minorsky, 1942.

source was the work of al-Jayhānī, and therefore the parallel texts of the authors belonging to that tradition were also taken into account.<sup>89</sup>

### *ʿAwfī*

The geographical part of al-Marwazī's opus was translated into Persian and may be found in the work of ʿAwfī. Born in Bukhara to a noble family, he moved to Samarqand in 1201, and then to Nīshāpūr in 1206. From there he went to Herat, where he lived until a travel to India in 1215. By 1232, he was still alive in Delhi. He published his *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt wa lāmiʿ al-rivāyāt* 'Collection of Prose Anecdotes and the Best of Stories' in 1228. This is in fact a collection of some 2,000 stories.<sup>90</sup> The sixteenth chapter of the fourth section is devoted to the Turkic-speaking peoples and is primarily based on al-Marwazī. Kmoskó translated the section into Hungarian on the basis of six manuscripts.<sup>91</sup> Two of them are in the British Museum. Janicsek found two other manuscripts in the same library. I consulted all of these in the fall of 2003.<sup>92</sup> The four manuscripts are as follows:

1. British Museum Or. 236 fol. 499<sup>v</sup>. 16th–17th century (known to Kmoskó).<sup>93</sup>
2. British Museum Add. 16.862, fol. 368<sup>r</sup>. 16th century (known to Kmoskó).<sup>94</sup>
3. British Museum 2676, fol. 67<sup>v</sup>. Date: 732/1332.<sup>95</sup> Minorsky used this text.<sup>96</sup>
4. British Museum Add. 7672 fol. 212<sup>v</sup>. Date: 1025/1616.<sup>97</sup>

### *Shukrallāh*

Shukrallāh Shihāb ibn al-Dīn wrote his work *Bahjat al-tawārīkh*, 'Joy of Chronicles' in 1456.<sup>98</sup> Hammer published the chapter on the Turks.<sup>99</sup> Janicsek dis-

89 Minorsky, 1942, 2–11; Hungarian and German translations: HKÍF, 44–45; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 241–265.

90 N. Nizamuddin, 'Aufi: EI<sup>2</sup> I, 764; Oldal 1986, 145–148; Kmoskó 1929, 14–54; Nyitrai 1996, 74; GAS XIV, 269–271.

91 Kmoskó 1929, 18–19.

92 Hungarian translations of the Magyar chapter: Kmoskó 1929, 51–52; Janicsek 1929, 22–31; Nyitrai 1996, 74.

93 Rieu II, 751.

94 Rieu II, 749–751.

95 Rieu, Suppl, 245–247.

96 Minorsky 1937, 324.

97 Rieu II, 751.

98 Babinger 1927, 19–20; Janicsek 1929, 225, note 2; Hazai 1957, 157–159; Kmoskó I/1, 197.

99 Hammer 1827, 105–109, French translation: 44–48.

covered three manuscripts in the British Museum, two Persian<sup>100</sup> and one Turkish.<sup>101</sup> I consulted all three in 2003. Janicsek also noted that the Persian texts were identical with Hammer's edition, but discovered new fragments in the Turkish manuscript.<sup>102</sup> Hazai then found two more manuscripts in Sofia. The Persian text coincides with that edited by Hammer, whereas the Turkish translation correspond to the manuscript that Janicsek found in the British Museum. Hazai published a critical edition on the basis of the manuscripts from Sofia.<sup>103</sup>

### *Muḥammad Kātib*

Hammer cited some chapters on Eastern Europe from a work of Muḥammad Kātib entitled *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh* 'Collection of Chronicles.' This was written in 1574 in Turkish and the chapters cited by Hammer are based on Shukrallāh.<sup>104</sup> According to Hazai, Hammer actually cited the work of Meḥmed Za'im,<sup>105</sup> which was completed in 1545 and is known to have been based on Shukrallāh as well.<sup>106</sup>

### *Ḥājī Khalīfa*

The Turkish encyclopedist Ḥājī Khalīfa<sup>107</sup> (1609–1657) began to write a cosmography entitled *Jihān-numā* 'Presentation of the World' in 1648, but apparently never finished it. He did manage to write about Andalusia, North Africa, and the provinces of the Ottoman Empire, i.e. Rumelia, Bosnia, and Hungary. Hammer published the Magyar chapter, which was copied from a version of Shukrallāh.<sup>108</sup>

100 Or. 1627. fol. 59<sup>r-v</sup>. 1263/1847, Rieu III, 884; Or. 2775 fol. 22<sup>v</sup>–23<sup>r</sup>. 949/1542, Rieu Suppl., 18.

101 Or. 9266. fol. 67<sup>v</sup>–68<sup>r</sup>. 1013/1604.

102 Janicsek 1929, 228.

103 Hazai 1957, 157–197; Hungarian translations: Janicsek 1929, 229–231; HKÍF, 47–48; Nyitrai 1996, 75.

104 Hammer 1827, 61–66, 120–125; cf. Janicsek 1929, 225; Kmoskó 1/1, 197.

105 On this author, see Babinger 1927, 98–99.

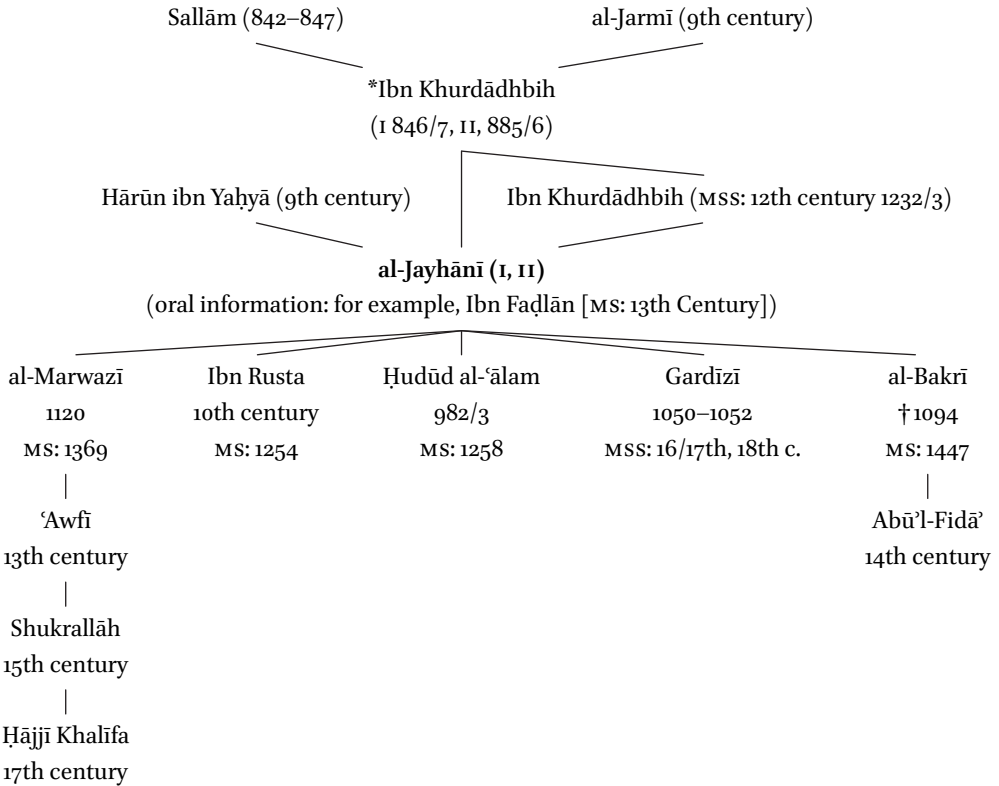
106 Hazai 1957, 158.

107 Orhan Şaik Gökyay, Kātib Ćelebi: EI<sup>2</sup> IV, 760; GAS XIV, 316–332.

108 Hammer 1827, 130; Hazai 1957, 181–183; Hungarian translation: Nyitrai 1996, 75.



The Jayhānī tradition:



## 5 Al-Jayhānī’s Report on Central Asia and Eastern Europe

The chapters on the Eurasian peoples presumably mentioned in al-Jayhānī appear in later authors as follows:

Gardīzī	Ibn Rusta	<i>Ḥudūd al-‘ālam</i>	al-Bakrī	al-Marwazī
Karluks		Tokuzoguz		Oguz
Kimäk		Yaghma		Qūn
Yaghma		Kirgiz		Kirgiz
Kirgiz		Karluks		Karluks
Tibet		Chigil		Kimäk
Barskhān		Tukhs		
Tokuzoguz		Kimäk		

Gardīzī	Ibn Rusta	<i>Ḥudūd al-‘ālam</i>	al-Bakrī	al-Marwazī
China		Oguz		
Pechenegs		Turkic Pechenegs Kipchak	Pechenegs	Pechenegs
Khazars	Khazars	Magyars	Khazars	Khazars
Burtas	Burtas	Slavs	Burtas	Burtas
Bulgars	Bulgars	Rūs	Bulgars	
Magyars	Magyars	Inner Bulgars	Magyars	Magyars
Slavs	Slavs	Moravians		Slavs
Rūs,	Rūs	Khazar Pechenegs		Rūs
Sarīr	Sarīr	Alans	Sarīr	
Alans	Alans	Sarīr Khazars Burtas	Alans	
Chigil		Burādās		
Türgāshī		W.n.nd.r	Burjān (Turks)	
			Magyars	Hippocrates
			Rūs	Bulgars
				Īsū
				Yūra

The table shows that the primary source has divided the description of the Eurasian peoples into two geographical regions. The eastern part dealt with the nomadic peoples living in the steppe zone from Mongolia to Kazakhstan. The accounts of the Tokuzoguz, Uygurs, Karluks, Kimäks, Kirgiz, and Yaghma were certainly part of that original tradition. Gardīzī's description reflects the geographic order from Transoxania to the East. The chapters on Tibet, Barskhān, and China were mistakenly included in the section reserved for the Turkic-speaking peoples, but they may in fact have represented a new section. The placement of the chapters on the Chigil and Türgāshī at the end of the complete section is probably a scribal error, as they belong to the eastern Turkic-speaking world. The enumeration in the *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam* follows the east-west direction. The name Oguz at the end of the description points to their important political role in the Kazakh steppe by the end of the 10th century. Al-Marwazī added to this part the chapter on al-Qūn, who must have played a prominent role in

triggering a new migration wave in the Eurasian steppe around the middle of the 11th century.

The source of the chapter on the Inner-Asian Turkic-speaking peoples is the work of Ibn Muqaffa' *Rub' al-Dunyā* "The quarter of the world". The title of that work is in fact the Arabic translation of the Greek word *oikoumene*. Gardīzī specifically mentioned this work among his sources. Ibn Muqaffa' was the founder of Arab scientific prose, and he translated the history of the Sassanid dynasty and other Persian works from Middle Persian into Arabic. He was born in 720, and after being appointed to high office was executed in 756 as a consequence of court intrigues. His son probably continued his work and translated several works from Greek into Arabic, as suggested by the title of his father's work. At the same time he revised and enlarged the translation with new information.<sup>109</sup> According to Czeglédý, the description of the Turkic-speaking peoples of Central Asia is uniform in style and is based on both facts and legendary stories. The narrative is full of folk etymologies of ethnic names and titles. In addition, several itineraries may be found in these chapters. The date of the composition can be determined on basis of historical events mentioned therein: two decades after the fall of the Türk Khaganate may thus be taken into consideration. The author may have finished his work in the 770s, as he knew about the Uygur conversion to Manichaeism (762) and the rise of the Karluk empire (766). The *terminus ante quem* must be set at 840, i.e., the fall of the Uygur Khaganate. Czeglédý has suggested that for chronological reasons one would therefore need to see as the true author Ibn Muqaffa's son or some Muslim envoy or merchant living in eastern Iran and traveling to Inner Asia. Whoever the author truly was, he may have chosen the name Ibn Muqaffa', which was well known, in order to provide his work with a wider audience.<sup>110</sup>

The description of the peoples of Eastern Europe starts with the account of the Pechenegs. Gardīzī preserved the most detailed version since he recorded passages on the Danube Bulgars and Moravia in the Magyar chapter. Those passages are absent from the other parallel works, except *Hudūd al-ālam*. *Hudūd al-ālam* then is different from the parallel descriptions, in that the Magyars are mentioned among the peoples of Inner Asia, and the East European peoples are presented from west to east. The two chapters on the Pechenegs, both "Turkic" and "Khazar," obviously refer to a 10th-century situation. Ibn Rusta omitted the report on the Pechenegs, but its traces can still be found at the beginning of his chapters on the Khazars. Al-Bakrī described the Khazars and the Pe-

109 F. Gabrielli, *Ibn al-Muqaffa'*: E1<sup>2</sup> III, 883–885; Czeglédý 1973, 257–267; 1972, 138–145.

110 Czeglédý 1972, 141–142; 1973, 263–267.

chenegs using al-Jayhānī, to which he added the story about the conversion of the Pechenegs to Islam and of the Khazars to Judaism. He also supplemented his account with a chapter on the Danubian Bulgars, whom he calls Burjān. In his work, a report on the Magyars, already resident in the Carpathian Basin, appears in the description of the Byzantine Empire and the Balkans, following the chapter on the Rūs. The information about the Rūs was borrowed from the Jayhānī tradition. Al-Marwazī omitted the description of the peoples of the Caucasus (Alans, Sarīr), but cited an account in connection with the Turks from the Arabic translation of Hippocrates and Galen's medical treatises. He then introduced a passage on the Volga Bulgars from the Balkhī tradition. Al-Marwazī closed his excursus with reports on the northern edge of the East European region, including the mention of two Finno-Ugric speaking groups, the *Isū* (most likely the Veps) and the *Yūra* (Yugra of the Russian sources). Both are obviously later interpolations.

The order of the peoples of Eastern Europe is then as follows: Pechenegs, Khazars, Burtas, Volga Bulgars, Magyars, Slavs, Rūs, Alans and Sarīr. The point of reference is most clearly Bukhara, the Pechenegs being the immediate neighbors to the northwest from the province of which that city was the capital. Then come the peoples from south to north on the Volga river, i.e., the Khazars, whose capital was on the lower Volga; the Burtas who lived to their north; and the Volga Bulgars in the Volga-Kama region. After that, the description follows onto the Black Sea shore and to the north along the Dnieper. The Magyars are therefore described in reference to the Black Sea coast, having the Slavs as their northern neighbors, who in turn lived next to the Rūs. The description ends with the Alans and the inhabitants of Sarīr, who lived on the northern slope of the Caucasus Mountains.

The presentation of Inner Asia with its Turkic-speaking peoples is substantially different from its western counterpart. In his description of the peoples of Eastern Europe, the author of the primary source seems to have used a questionnaire, the topics of which may be reconstructed as follows: 1. geographical location, including neighbors, distances, rivers, oceans, mountains; 2. public institutions, the title of ruler; 3. lifestyle; 4. religious life; 5. taxes; 6. weapons; 7. raids and wars; 8. marriage customs; 9. funeral rites; 10. commercial goods. The pattern was not always followed, with the standard order sometimes changed and entire questions skipped in various accounts.<sup>111</sup>

As for the sources of the East European chapters, the lost part of the geographical compendium of Ibn Khurdādhbih must be taken into consideration,

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111 Zimonyi 1990, 119.

as well as the reports of al-Jarmī and Hārūn ibn Yaḥyā.<sup>112</sup> The latter were both prisoners of war in Byzantium, so there is no doubt about the authenticity of their descriptions of Byzantium and the neighboring countries. The work of al-Jarmī is lost, but substantial fragments are known from Ibn Khurdādhbih, Qudāma, and al-Masʿūdī.<sup>113</sup> The latter recorded the events of an exchange of prisoners in September 845: “On this occasion the Muslim ibn Abī Muslim al-Jarmī escaped. He had his residence in the border fortresses and knew the Romans and their land. He wrote books about the history of Romans, their kings and the hierarchy of dignitaries, their country, its roads and routes, the times of invasions, campaigns against it and their neighboring kingdoms: the Burjān (Danube Bulgars), al-Abar (Avars), al-Burghar, al-Ṣaqāliba (Slavs), al-Khazar (Khazars), and others.”<sup>114</sup> On the basis of this passage, Harkavy, followed by Marquart, believed that al-Jarmī was the source of al-Jayhānī’s report on the peoples of Eastern Europe.<sup>115</sup> Kmoskó, Minorsky and Czeglédý pointed out that al-Jarmī consistently applied the name “Khazar Sea” to the Black Sea, which makes it highly improbable that his work was the source for al-Jayhānī’s work, since in all texts of the Jayhānī tradition the Khazar Sea is consistently identified with the Caspian, not the Black Sea.<sup>116</sup>

Minorsky put forward the idea that the source of the report on the Magyars, the Danube Bulgars (*W.n.nd.r*), and Moravia (*M.rwāt*) was Hārūn ibn Yaḥyā.<sup>117</sup> The text of Hārūn ibn Yaḥyā came down to us in the work of Ibn Rusta.<sup>118</sup> Czeglédý challenged Minorsky’s assumption on the ground that Gardizī called the Danube Bulgars *N.nd.r* and mentioned them as being Christians and part of Byzantium, while Hārūn ibn Yaḥyā knew that the Byzantines and the Bulgars (whom he calls Bulghar) were at odds with each other.<sup>119</sup> Given the lack of the original text, it seems a hazardous endeavor to look for the source of al-Jayhānī’s account.

To determine the chronological framework of the report, one needs to pay attention to the historical data in the texts. Hóman first dated the report to before 895, since the Pechenegs are said to have still been living to the east

112 Czeglédý, *MÓT*, 40–41; Kmoskó 1/1, 36–37.

113 BGA VI, 102–112; Kmoskó 1/1, 109–116; BGA VI, 252–259, Kmoskó 1/1, 160–166; *Tanbīh* BGA VIII, 176–180; Kmoskó 1/2, 215–217.

114 BGA VIII, 190–191; Marquart 1903, 28–29; Kmoskó 1/2, 222.

115 Marquart 1903, 28.

116 Kmoskó 1/1, 36–37; Minorsky 1937, 422–423; Czeglédý *MÓT*, 40.

117 Minorsky 1937, 424, 468.

118 BGA VII, 119–130; Wiet 1955, 134–146; Kmoskó 1/1, 183–193.

119 BGA VII, 126; Wiet 1955, 142; Kmoskó 1/1, 190; Czeglédý, *MÓT*, 40–41.

of the Khazars, a situation clearly pre-dating their migration to the northern shore of the Black Sea. He suggested that more accurate chronological coordinates may be obtained from the description of the Slavs and Rūs. The Rurikid Oleg ruled in northern Russia, before moving to the south and besieging Kiev in 882. He then took over the entire land between 883 and 885. Since the Rūs lived separately from the Slavs in the northern region, the report (per Hóman) can be dated before 883. At the same time the name of the ruler of the Slavs may be reconstructed as Svatopluk, who is known as the “king” of Moravia after 874. Hóman thus dated the composition of the East European chapter between 874 and 883.<sup>120</sup> Czeglédy established a *terminus ante quem* at 889, the date of the first Pecheneg-Magyar war.<sup>121</sup> Like Marquart, he accepted the idea that the original source was written down before 862, the date attributed by the *Russian Primary Chronicle* to the episode of Askold and Dir. Marquart was convinced that the author of the East European report was al-Jarmī, but Czeglédy questioned that attribution, given that al-Jarmī used the name Bulghar and not N.nd.r to refer to the Danube Bulgars (otherwise listed among the Christian peoples). The conversion of the Bulgars to Christianity took place in 864, even though Boris received the form of Christianity favored in Constantinople only in 870. As a consequence, Czeglédy dated the original source to the period 870–889.<sup>122</sup> He later modified his view to take into account the fact that Oleg had occupied Kiev and subjugated the neighboring Slavic-speaking tribes in ca. 880. Czeglédy narrowed down the interval to 870–880.<sup>123</sup>

All those proposals are based on problematic interpretations of other sources. For example, the date of 882 given in the *Russian Primary Chronicle* for Oleg’s occupation of Kiev is dubious at best, if not entirely untrustworthy,

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120 Hóman 1908, 872–874.

121 Constantine Porphyrogenitus mentioned in his *DAI* that the Hungarians were attacked twice by the Pechenegs (Kristó 1996b, 106–203). The second attack evidently can be connected with the Hungarian conquest of the Carpathian Basin at the turn of the 9th–10th centuries. Regino, the abbot of Prüm Monastery, wrote in his chronicle that the Pechenegs raided the Hungarians in 889, who were forced to move west. Earlier, most historians regarded the report of Regino as concerning the first Hungarian-Pecheneg war and accepted his dating as authentic. However, Györfly studied Regino’s dating methods and discovered several errors. He proved in the case of the Pecheneg raid that the message referred to the events of the Hungarian Conquest starting in 895 (Györfly 1972, 283–291).

122 Czeglédy 1945, 39–41.

123 Czeglédy 1975, 48.

much like the idea of Oleg's conquest of the entire Middle Dnieper region in the last years of the 9th century.<sup>124</sup> The name of Svatopluk in the Slavic chapter fits very well in the chronological framework, for he is known to have reigned from 870 to 894. The Arabic script of the name *سويت ملك Swyt M.l.k* was reconstructed as *Swyt B.l.k* ~ Svatopluk, but might also be *Svet"Malik*, with the first word being the Slavic term for 'holy, sacred' and the second word being the Arabic term for 'king'.<sup>125</sup> The Danube Bulgars received Christianity from the Patriarchate of Constantinople in 870.<sup>126</sup> However, the section on the Danube Bulgars and Moravians is preserved in the Magyar chapter of *Gardīzī* and as separate accounts in the *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*. The Arabic versions of the Jayhānī tradition missed both accounts, which strongly suggest that they were not in the original source. Marquart chose a date after 922 for the composition of the East European report, because of his association of the conversion of the Volga Bulgars and their king to Islam on one hand, and Ibn Faḍlān's report on the other.<sup>127</sup> A thorough comparison of al-Jayhānī's chapter on the Volga Bulgars with the relevant information in Ibn Faḍlān actually shows that al-Jayhānī took his information from Ibn Faḍlān on his return trip.<sup>128</sup> In addition, the king of the Alans is mentioned as Christian.<sup>129</sup> The conversion of the Alans to Christianity has only recently been explored. Although the first attempts to convert the Alans to Christianity may be dated to the 4th century, both Byzantine and Arab sources insist that the fundamental steps in that direction were made in the early 10th century.<sup>130</sup> In conclusion, the primary source may well have been written between 870 and 895, but it must have also been edited and changed more than once during the first half of the 10th century (no doubt after 922).

According to Marquart, the original version of the Magyar chapter is from al-Jarmī's work before 846, later supplemented with information from different sources, the last time by al-Jayhānī shortly after 922. The description of the Danube Bulgars and the Moravians in *Gardīzī* and *Ḥudūd al-'ālam* belongs to a newer layer.<sup>131</sup> Bálint Hóman refuted the idea that al-Jarmī was the author of the original text. He believed that the oldest layer of the text must have been

124 Franklin, Shephard 1996, 57–58, 105–107, 115–116.

125 Lewicki 11/2, 124–126, note 226; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 78–79, note 131.

126 Obolensky, 1971, 84–94.

127 Marquart 1903, 25–26.

128 Zimonyi 1990, 116–157.

129 BGA VII, 148; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 92, 183, 215.

130 Fejós 2001, 36–44.

131 Marquart, 1903, xxviii–xxxiii, 24–29.

written between 874 and 883. He divided the text into two versions: the shorter one used by al-Jayhānī, then copied by Ibn Rusta and al-Bakrī; and the full version, which includes the passages on the Danube Bulgars and the Moravians, as rendered by Gardīzī and *Ḥudūd al-ālam*. The latter two sources may have also considered the shorter information recorded in the work of al-Jayhānī. The report is therefore relatively homogeneous.<sup>132</sup>

Relying on Marquart and Kuun, Kmoskó believed that the records of the Muslim geographers were multiple representations of different times and authors and the separation of these layers from each other is often very difficult, sometimes outright impossible. Kmoskó doubted that the book of al-Jarmī had been al-Jayhānī's source; he surmised instead an unknown author, whose text al-Jayhānī complemented with contemporary details. The middle part of Ibn Rusta's text includes a description starting with the rivers flowing into the sea of Rūm and ending with the presentation of the Magyar rule over the Slavs.<sup>133</sup> This part applies better to the situation in the Carpathian Basin, i.e. for the early 10th century, which was the time of al-Jayhānī's literary activity.<sup>134</sup> As Gardīzī mentioned the Hungarians as Christian, he must have had concrete news of the Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin after the conversion of 1000. Kmoskó identified the two rivers with the Danube and Tisza. The land of the Hungarians was swampy and full of trees. Both descriptions may well refer to the Carpathian Basin after its conquest in 895. As for the representation of the countries of *N.nd.r* and *M.rwāt*,<sup>135</sup> Kmoskó believed them to belong to the same layer and to have been taken from al-Jayhānī's book. Unlike Marquart, he supposed this longer version to be a part of al-Jayhānī's compendium. At any rate, later authors copied from the complete version but shortened it arbitrarily, and various text traditions were formed during this copying process. Kmoskó proved that the parts about the raids against the Slavs and the

132 Hóman 1908, 875–878.

133 "One border of their country reaches the Sea of Rūm. Two rivers flow into this sea. One of them is bigger than the Jayhūn (Oxus). The dwellings of the Magyars lie between these two rivers. When the days of the winter come, all of them set up camp on the river, whichever of the two rivers lies nearer to them. They stay there during the winter catching fish from the river. It is the most appropriate winter quarters for them. The country of the Magyars abounds in trees and waters. Its ground is damp. They have a lot of sown fields. They overcome all the Ṣaqāliba who are their neighbours imposing harsh provisions/victuals upon them, and treat them as their slaves." Kmoskó put this part in italics in the Hungarian translation (1/1, 208).

134 Kmoskó 1/1, 198–203.

135 Kmoskó emended this name to *h.rwāt* and identified it with the Croats (Kmoskó 1927, 21).



slave trade with Byzantium in Kerch' that referred to the Magyars living on the northern Black Sea predate 895. He therefore identified three habitats of the Magyars in the text: 1. east of the Volga where Friar Julianus would find the eastern Hungarians at the beginning of the 13th century (their rulers were Künde and Gyula); 2. the northern shore of the Black Sea, whence the Magyars raided the Slavic-speaking tribes, took captives, and sold them to Byzantium on the markets in Crimea; 3. the Carpathian Basin, which was conquered in 895.<sup>136</sup>

On the basis of his analysis of the Magyar chapter in his commentary to *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, Minorsky concluded that it points to two different areas: east of the Volga on the one hand, and the northern shore of the Black Sea on the other. Part A contains information about the Magyars to the east of the Volga River, between the Volga Bulgars and the Pechenegs. Minorsky divided the second part (B) into two entities: B1 may be reconstructed from the works of Ibn Rusta and Gardīzī and goes back to at least two different sources. B1a is the description of the Magyars north of the Black Sea, which may be identified with Levedia in Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *De administrando imperio*, and is therefore to be dated before 889. B1b is preserved in Gardīzī and the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, and includes the passages on *n.nd.r* and *m.rwāt*. The Magyars are regarded here as neighbors of the Danube Bulgars, and their habitat must have been what Constantine Porphyrogenitus called Etelköz, which means that this entity must date from after 889 (Minorsky even believed the source of this entity to have been Hārūn ibn Yaḥyā, who wrote between 890 and 900). B2 is al-Bakrī's report about the Magyars having the Caucasus on their eastern border. Finally, Minorsky pointed out that only part A is to be found in the Magyar chapter of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*.<sup>137</sup>

Czeplédy rejected the idea that the description of the Magyars in Etelköz came from Hārūn ibn Yaḥyā, and suggested that the original report contained those informations as found in Gardīzī and the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*. Czeplédy further identified the rivers flowing into the sea of Rūm with the Danube and the Don. He proved that al-Bakrī's new data came from the Khazar chapter and had nothing to do with the original Magyar chapter. He also reconstructed a relatively uniform description. The author, according to him, had inserted the sketch about the Magyars to east from the river Volga into the description of their settlements north of the Black Sea. Czeplédy emphasized that a unified description may be reconstructed for the period 870–880. There

136 Kmoskó 1927, 19–24.

137 Minorsky 1937, 317–324.

is only one exception, namely the information available only in Ibn Rusta: the Khazars surrounded themselves by a moat against the Magyars. This may be an indication of a date before 870, as the fort in Sarkel was built around 833.<sup>138</sup>

Zahoder brings the Magyar chapter into a close relationship with the history of the Khazars. According to him there was a basic layer, which was mixed with a recent report from the western part of the Muslim world, or from Byzantium. The primordial layer had the following content: the dual power of the Magyar rulers; Magyars as nomads; the Magyars live in tents and follow the growth of grass and they live between the Volga Bulgars and the Pechenegs. The time frame is between the northern migration of the Volga Bulgars in the second half of the 7th century and the western migration of the Magyars in the 880s. The Volga Bulgars and the Khazars could have transmitted this information. The second part concerns the country of the Magyars, described as wet and full of trees; they cultivate the soil and live on two rivers that flow into the sea of Rūm, one of which is certainly the Danube; the Danube Bulgars and Moravians live west of them, and they have close relations with Byzantium. The report of Ibn Rusta including the building of a moat by the Khazars to defend themselves against the Magyars seems to be the most archaic layer of that account.<sup>139</sup>

Miquel saw Magyars in three areas. The region east of the Volga was inhabited by Magyars or Bashkirs. The second area was between the Don and Dnieper, and the situation described must have been that before 889, thus coinciding with Constantine Porphyrogenitus' Levedia. This is the situation to which belong the information about the titles of the Magyar kings, the size of their army, their relations with the Slavs, and the slave trade with Byzantium. The third region was next to the Christian Bulgars, and may well be the Etelköz of the *De administrando imperio*, in which the Magyars lived between 889 and 893.<sup>140</sup>

Studying the authors of the Jayhānī tradition writing in Persian, Nyitrai concluded that the text transmitted by Gardizī was put together from three different sources. The first referred to the Magyars in the area between the Volga Bulgars and the Pechenegs, later known as *Magna Hungaria*. The geographical coordinates of the second source are not clear. The steppe between the Don and the Danube is the preferable option, but the region between the Dniester and the Volga cannot be excluded either. The third source may have been recorded

138 Czeglédy MÓT, 40–44, 118–119.

139 Zahoder 1962, 128–130; 1967, 47.

140 Miquel 1975, 300–303.

on the eve of the Conquest in 895, as it places the Magyars in the vicinity of the lower Danube, next to the borders of the Danube Bulgars.<sup>141</sup>

In conclusion, the examination of the Magyar chapter raises three key questions: Is it possible to reconstruct the original description? How many layers are there expected to be after separating out the subsequent interpolations of the copyists? Can one establish the time and sources of the basic versions and interpolations?

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141 Nyitrai 1996, 68–71.



## The Versions and Translations of the Magyar Chapter

Ibn Rusta<sup>1</sup>

المجفريّة<sup>2</sup>

و بين بلاد البجاناكيّة<sup>1</sup> و بين بلاد اسكل من البلكارية اول حدّ من حدود المجفريّة و المجفريّة<sup>2</sup> جنس من الترك و يركب رئيسهم في مقدار عشرين الف فارس ويستى الرئيس كنده وهذا الاسم شعار ملكهم لان اسم الرجل المملّك عليهم جله ٥ و كلّ المجفريّة يصغون الى ما يأمرهم به رئيسهم المستي جله من محاربة و ممانعة و غيرها و لهم قباب يسرون مع الكلاّ و الحصب و بلادهم واسعة و حدّ منها يتصل ببحر الروم و ينصبّ الى ذلك البحر نهران احدهما اكبر من جيحون و مساكنهم بين هذين النهرين فاذا كان ايام الشتاء قصد كلّ من كان اقرب منهم من احد النهرين ذلك النهر و اقام هناك تلك الشتوة يصطادون منه السمك و مقامهم في الشتاء هناك اوفق لهم و بلاد المجفريّة ذات شجر و مياه و ارضهم ندية<sup>3</sup> و لهم مزارع كثيرة و لهم الغلبة على جميع من يليهم من الصقالبة و يلزمونهم المون الغليظة و هم في ايديهم بمنزلة الاسرى ٥ و المجفريّة عبدة النيران و يغيرون على الصقالبة فيسيرون بالسبايا مع الساحل حتى يأتوا بهم مرقى بلاد الروم يقال<sup>4</sup> له كرخ ٥ و يقال ان الخزر فيما تقدّم كانت قد خدقت على نفسها اتقاء<sup>5</sup> المجفريّة و غيرهم من الامم المتاخمة<sup>6</sup> لبلادهم فاذا سارت المجفريّة بالسبايا الى كرخ خرجت اليها الروم فسوّقوا هناك و دفعوا اليهم الرقيق و أخذوا الديباج الرومي و الزليّات و سائر متاع الروم ٥

<sup>1</sup>Manuscripts: B = British Museum Add. 23 378: f. 163<sup>r</sup>, f. 163<sup>v</sup>.; C = Cambridge Or. 920 [8]: 117<sup>v</sup>, 117<sup>v</sup>, 118<sup>r</sup>. Edition: BGA VII, 142–143. <sup>2</sup>B: المُجفريه; <sup>1</sup>B: البجاناكيه; C: النجاناكيه; <sup>2</sup>B: المجفريه; <sup>3</sup>B, C: بديه; <sup>4</sup>B, C: ابقا; <sup>5</sup>B, C: ابقا; <sup>6</sup>B, C: المتاخمة و يقال

## Ibn Rusta

### 1. The Magyars

2. Between the country of the Pechenegs and the *ʿsk.l*, who belong to the Bulgars, lies the first border from among the borders of the Magyars.
3. The Magyars are a Turkic people.
4. Their chieftain rides at the head of 20,000 horsemen.
5. The name of their chieftain is *k.nd.h*. This name is the title of their king, while the name of the man who practices the royal power over them is *j.l.h*. Every Magyar does what the chieftain, called *j.l.h*, commands him to do in making war, repelling invasions/defence, and the like.
6. They are tent-dwelling people. They migrate following the grazing fields and vegetation.
7. Their country is wide.
8. One border of their country reaches the Sea of Rūm. Two rivers flow into this sea. One of them is bigger than the Jayḥūn (Oxus). The lands of the Magyars lie between these two rivers. When the days of winter come, all of them set up their camps on the river, whichever of the two rivers lies nearer to them. They stay there during the winter catching fish from the river. It is the most appropriate winter quarters for them.
12. The country of the Magyars abounds in trees and waters. Its ground is damp.
13. They have a lot of sown fields.
14. They overcome all the Ṣaḡālība who are their neighbours, imposing harsh provisions/victuals upon them, and treat them as their slaves.
15. The Magyars are fire-worshippers.
- 16a. They raid the Ṣaḡālība, and they take the captives along the sea-coast till they reach a harbour of Rūm called K.rkh.
17. It is said that the Khazars entrenched themselves some time ago against the Magyars and other peoples bordering their country.
- 16b. When the Magyars take the captives to K.rkh, the Rūm (Byzantines) go out to them, and they trade there. They buy Byzantine (*rūmī*) brocade, woollen carpets and other Byzantine goods for the slaves.

Gardizī<sup>1</sup>

میان ولایت بلکار و ولایت اسکل که هم از بلکار است<sup>1</sup> حد محفریانست و این محفریان<sup>2</sup> جنسی<sup>3</sup> اند از ترکان<sup>4</sup> و سالار آن با بیست هزار سوار و این سالار را کنده خوانند و این نام ملک بزرگتر ایشان است<sup>5</sup> و آن سالار که شغلا خواند او را جله خوانند و محفریان<sup>6</sup> آن کنند که جله فرماید و ایشان را صحراست همه با کیا و جای فراخ و ولایت ایشان<sup>7</sup> صد فرسنگ اندر صد فرسنگ است و ولایت ایشان بدریاء روم پیوسته<sup>8</sup> است که از رود جیحون بر آن دریا افتد<sup>9</sup> و ایشان اندر میان این<sup>10</sup> جوی نشینند چون<sup>11</sup> زمستان آید<sup>12</sup> کسی که از جیحون دورتر شده باشد بنزدیک جیحون باز آید و زمستان آنجا بیاشد و ماهی گیرند و بدان معیشت کنند و آن جیحون که بر چب ایشانست بر جانب سقلاب قومی اند از روم همه ترسا اند و ایشان را نندر کویند و ایشان از محفریان<sup>13</sup> بیشتر اند اما ضعیف تر باشند و این دو جیحون یکی را<sup>14</sup> اتل<sup>15</sup> و دیگری را دوبا و چون محفریان<sup>16</sup> بر کنار رود<sup>17</sup> باشند این نندریان را به بینند<sup>18</sup> زیر<sup>19</sup> نندریان<sup>20</sup> بر کناره رود کوهیست بزرگ و آب بر پهلوی<sup>21</sup> این کوه بیرون شود و از پس<sup>22</sup> آن کوه

<sup>1</sup>Manuscripts: C = Cambridge King's College 213: 192<sup>v</sup>, 193<sup>r</sup>, 193<sup>v</sup>, 194<sup>v</sup> = Martinez 1982, 207 (Q1), 206 (Q2), 209 (R1), 211 (S1); O = Oxford Bodleian, Ouseley 240: 479, 480, 481, 482, 484; Edition: Habībī 1963, 274. Martinez = Martinez's emendations: Martinez 1982, 159–163. <sup>1</sup>C: ست <sup>2</sup>C: محفریان <sup>3</sup>C: محفریان و ولایت ایشان مسجدها باشند: <sup>7</sup>O: محفریان: O بخویان: <sup>6</sup>C: ایشانست: <sup>5</sup>C: ترکاران: <sup>4</sup>C, O: عیسی <sup>8</sup>C, O: [و دو جوی] بر آن دریا افتد که [یکی از آنها] از رود جیحون [بزرگتر باشد]: <sup>9</sup>Martinez: پیوسته: <sup>10</sup>Martinez: اتل کویند: <sup>15</sup>C: [بزرگتر باشند] جیحون را یکی: <sup>14</sup>C: محفریان: <sup>13</sup>C: باشد: <sup>12</sup>C: و <sup>11</sup>O: این [دو]: <sup>22</sup>C: پهلوی: <sup>21</sup>C: نندریان: <sup>20</sup>O: زیر: <sup>19</sup>Martinez: بگیرند: <sup>18</sup>Habībī: دوبا: <sup>17</sup>Martinez: محفریان بس

## Gardizī

### (1. The Magyars)

2. Between the country of the Bulgars and the country of the *'sk.l*, who also belong to the Bulgars, lies the border of the Magyars.
3. These Magyars are a Turkic people.
4. Their chieftain is (*rides*) with 20,000 horsemen.
5. They call this chieftain *k.nd.h*. It is the name of their greater king, while that chieftain who practices (the royal) power, they call *j.l.h*. The Magyars do what the *j.l.h* commands them to do.
6. They have a plain all (covered) with grass.
7. and (it is) a spacious space. Their country is 100 parasangs (long) and 100 parasangs (wide).
8. Their country adjoins the Sea of Rūm. Two rivers flow into this sea. One of them is bigger than the Jayḥūn (Oxus). The lands of the Magyars lie between these two rivers. When the days of the winter come, all of them set up their camps on the river, whichever of the two rivers lies nearer to them. They stay there during the winter catching fish and find their sustenance thereby.
9. As for the Jayḥūn (river), which is to the left of them towards the Saqlāb, there are a people belonging to the Rūm, all of whom are Christians. They are called N.nd.r. They are more numerous than the Magyars, but they are weaker.
10. (The names of) the two rivers are Atil and Dūnā. When the Magyars are on the banks of the river (Danube), they see these N.nd.r.
11. There is a great mountain above the N.nd.r along the bank of the river. The stream emerges alongside that mountain.



قومی باشند از ترسایان و ایشان را مردات<sup>1</sup> کویند و میان ایشان و میان نندر<sup>2</sup> ده روزه راهست و ایشان قومی بسیار اند و جامهء ایشان بجامهء عرب ماند از عمامه و پیراهن<sup>3</sup> و جبه و ایشان را کشت<sup>4</sup> و برز بود ورزان<sup>5</sup> باشد که ایشان را آب ایشان بر روی زمین رود و کاریز ندارند و چنین کویند که عدد ایشان از روم بیش است و ایشان را<sup>6</sup> امتی جداگانه اند و بیشتر بازگائی ایشان با عرب<sup>7</sup> باشد و آن رود که بر راست مجفریان است<sup>8</sup> بسقلاب شود و از انجا بر دیار خزر افتد و آن رود ازین هر دو رود بزرگتر است<sup>9</sup> و ولایت مجفریان<sup>10</sup> همه درختانست و آب کیر است و زمین او نمناک<sup>11</sup> و ایشان همه بر سقلاب غلبه کنند و پیوسته سقلابیان را مؤنات فرمایند و ایشان را چون اسیر<sup>12</sup> خویش دارند و مجفریان<sup>13</sup> آتش پرستند و بغزو سقلاب و روس روند و از انجا برده آرند و بروم برند و بفروشنند و این مجفریان<sup>14</sup> مردمانی<sup>15</sup> نیکودیدار باشند و با منظر و جامهای ایشان دیبا باشد و سلاحهای ایشان سچمین اندود و در اندود باشند<sup>16</sup> و پیوسته<sup>17</sup> بغارت سقلابیان روند و از مجفریان<sup>18</sup> تا سقلاب ده روزه راهست باغباء<sup>19</sup> سقلاب شهریست آنرا وانتیت خوانند و ایشان را رسمیت اندر زن خواستن که چون زن بخواهند کابین برند بر مقدار زن تونکری او آز ستور کم و بیش آن و چون<sup>20</sup> بکابین بریدن<sup>21</sup> بنشینند پدر<sup>22</sup> دختر مر پدر دامادرا<sup>23</sup> بجانہ خویش برد و هرچه<sup>24</sup> اورا باشد از سمور و قاقم و سنجاب و دله و شکم روباه با ابرها دیبا همه پوستها کرد کند

ایشان: Martinez: ایشان Habibi<sup>6</sup> ورزآن: O, C<sup>5</sup> کسب: O, C<sup>4</sup> و پیرامن: C<sup>3</sup> نندز: O<sup>2</sup> مروات: C<sup>1</sup>  
 O, C<sup>12</sup> نمناکست: C<sup>11</sup> مجفریان: O<sup>10</sup> بزرگترست: C<sup>9</sup> محفریان: O مجفریانست: C<sup>8</sup> غرب: Martinez<sup>7</sup> دو  
 O<sup>18</sup> پیوسته: C<sup>17</sup> سچمین اند و زر اندود: Martinez<sup>16</sup> مردمانی اند: O, C<sup>15</sup> محفریان: O<sup>14</sup> مجفریان: O<sup>13</sup> استر  
 هرچه: C<sup>24</sup> مادرا: C<sup>23</sup> بدر: C<sup>22</sup> بردن: C<sup>21</sup> چون و چون: O<sup>20</sup> و ادناء: Martinez باغبار: O<sup>19</sup> محفریان

Beyond the mountain there are a people belonging to the Christians. They are called M.rwāt. Between them and the N.nd.r is a ten-day journey. They are a numerous people. Their clothing resembles that of the Arabs, consisting of a turban, shirt, and waistcoat. They have sown fields and vines, for their waters run over the ground. They have no underground channels. It is said that their number is greater than that of the Rūm (Byzantines). They are two separate communities. The greater part of their commerce is with the Arabs (\*West). The river which is to the right of the Magyars goes (upstream) to(wards) the Saqlab (country), and thence it flows down to the land of the Khazars. Of the two rivers, that river is the greater.

12. The country of the Magyars abounds in trees. Its ground is damp.

14. They are always conquering the Ṣaqālība and continuously imposing provisions upon them, and they treat them as their slaves.

15. The Magyars are fire-worshippers.

16. They overcome those of the Ṣaqālība and Rūs taking captives from them; they carry the captives to Rūm, and sell them there.

18. The Magyars are handsome and pleasant-looking, and their bodies are bulky.

19. Their clothes are brocade and their weapons are plated with silver and embedded with pearl.

21. They continually go to plunder the Saqlābs.

22. From the Magyars to the Saqlābs is a ten-day journey. In the nearest part of the Saqlābs is a town which is called Wāntīt.

23. They have the custom, when asking for a wife, that when they ask for a wife they take a bride-price that consists of more or less horses in accordance with her wealth. And when they mount up to take the bride-price, the girl's father takes the groom's father to his house and whatever he has by way of sable, ermine, grey squirrel, weasel, and underbellies of fox he brings together with needles and brocade, to the amount of ten fur-coats. He wraps (these) in a bed roll and ties (it) on the groom's father's horse

مقدار ده پوستین و اندر بساطی پیچد<sup>1</sup> و بر اسب پدر<sup>2</sup> داماد بندد و اورا سوی خانه او کسبیل کند و پیش هرچه از جمت کابین دختر باید که پذیرفته<sup>3</sup> باشند از ستور و صامت<sup>4</sup> و کالا همه بدو فرستد<sup>5</sup> آن وقت زن بخانه آرند

و ایشان حصار<sup>6</sup> ساختن رسم دارند هر تنی چند<sup>7</sup> گرد آیند و حصارى کنند که مجفريان<sup>8</sup> بهر وقت برايشان تاختن آرند و ایشان را غارت کنند و مجفريان<sup>9</sup> بيايند سقلا بيان اندر ان حصارها شوند که ساخته باشند و بیشتر مقام ایشان اندر زمستان قلعهها و حصارها باشند و اندر تابستان بدرخستان وايشان را برده بسیار باشد

### al-Bakrī<sup>10</sup>

#### ذکر بلاد المجفريّة<sup>11</sup>

وهم بين بلاد البجناكية وبين بلاد اسكل<sup>12</sup> من البلکاریة<sup>13</sup> والمجفريّة عبدة او ثان و سمة ملكهم كندة وهم قوم ذوو قباب و خيام يتبعون مواقع القطر ومواضع العشب و عرض بلادهم مائة فرسخ في مثلها و حدّ من بلادهم يتصل ببلاد الروم وفي آخر حدّهم تما يلى المفازة جبل ينزله قوم يقال لهم ابين<sup>14</sup> ولهم كراع ومواش ومزارع واسفل من هذا الجبل على ساحل البحر قوم يقال لهم اوغونة وهم نصارى و متاخون لبلاد الاسلام المنسوبة الى بلاد تفليس وهو اول حد ارمينية ويمتدّ هذا الجبل الى ان يصير الى ارض الباب والابواب ويتصل ببلاد الخزر

<sup>9</sup>O: محفريان <sup>8</sup>O: جند <sup>7</sup>C: حصار <sup>6</sup>C: بفرستد <sup>5</sup>C: صامت <sup>4</sup>C: بذيرفته <sup>3</sup>C: بدر <sup>2</sup>C: يحد <sup>1</sup>C: O: محفريان  
<sup>10</sup>Editions: Kunik, Rozen 1878, 45; Leeuwen, Ferre 1992, 449. <sup>11</sup>Kunik, Rozen: Q, M: المحفريه  
<sup>12</sup>Kunik, Rozen Q, M: اشكل <sup>13</sup>Kunik, Rozen: الباكارية <sup>14</sup>Kunik, Rozen: ابين

and he sends it off toward his home. Then, whatever is necessary by way of the girl's bride-price, consisting of cattle and moveable chattels and household furnishings that have been deemed appropriate, is sent to him (the bride's father), and only then is the girl brought to the (groom's) house.<sup>1</sup>

25. They (the Slavs) have the custom of building fortress[es]. Every small group [that] comes (i.e. settles down) together, also makes [for itself] a stronghold, for the Magyars are at all times making incursions (i.e. slave raids) against them and plundering them. [Thus], when the Magyars come the Saqlāb go into those fortresses which they have built. And for the most part where they stay in the winter is in [their] fortresses and strongholds, but in the summer <they go> to the woods. They have many captured slaves.

### al-Bakrī

#### 1. Discourse on the country of the Magyars (*m.hf.rīyya*)

2. They live between the country of the Pechenegs and the *ʿsk.l*, who belong to the Bulgars.

15. The Magyars are idolaters.

5. The title of their king is *k.nd.h*.

6. They are yurt- and tent-dwelling people. They follow the rainfall and the grass fields (grazing areas).

7. The length of their country is 100 parasangs (long) by 100 (parasang wide).

8. One border of their country reaches the country of Rūm,

24. their other border, on the desert side, is a mountain inhabited by the people called Aīn. They possess horses, livestock and sown fields. The people called Ughūna dwell under this mountain on the sea-coast. They are Christian and adjacent to the Muslim territories bordering on the region of Tiflīs; this is the first border/beginning frontier of Armenia. This mountain continues down to the territory of al-Bāb wa-l-Abwāb, and reaches the Khazar country.

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1 Martinez 1982, 159–163.

**Abū'l-Fidā<sup>1</sup>**

وهم طائفة من الترك وقال بعضهم بلاد المجغرية بين بلادالبجناك وبين بلاد السكك من بلاد البلكرية وهم عبدة النيران وهم ذوو قباب وخيام يتبعون مواقع المطر ومواضع العشب وعرض بلادهم مائة فرسخ في مثلها وحد من بلادهم يتصل ببلاد الروم وهي آخر حدّهم تما يلي المفازة

**Ḥudūd al-‘ālam<sup>1</sup>**

سخن اندر ناحیت مجغری

مشرق او کوهیست و جنوب وی قومی ترسایانند و ایشان را وندر خوانند و مغرب و شمالش نواحی روسست و این ناحیت را مقدار بیست هزار مردست کی باملکشان بر نشینند و ملک این ناحیت را خلت خوانند و این ناحیت مقدار صد و بنجاه فرسنگ درازای اوست اندر صد فرسنگ پهنای وی و بزمرستان بر کران رودی باشند کی میان ایشان و روسست و طعام ایشان ماهی باشد و بدان زندگانی گذرانند و مردمانی بسیار خواسته اند و سفله و این ناحیت بیست بسیار درخت و با آبهای روان و نیکو روی اند و باهیت اند و ایشان با همه کافران کزگرد ایشانست حرب کنند و این مجغری بهتر آیند و این همه کی ما یاد کردیم انواع ترکست اندر جهمان و اکنون نواحی اسلام همه یاد کنیم و آنگه باقی نواحی کافران یاد کنیم کی اندر حدود مغرب اند

سخن اندر ناحیت مروات

مشرق وی بعضی کوهست و بعضی بجناک<sup>2</sup> خزر و جنوب وی بعضی بجناک<sup>3</sup> خزر و دریای گرز<sup>4</sup> است و مغربش بعضی دریای گرز<sup>5</sup> است و بلغار اندرونی و شمالش بعضی بلغار اندرونی

<sup>1</sup>Edition: Reinaud 1840, 223. <sup>1</sup>Facsimile of the manuscript: Barthold 1930, 37 (19<sup>r</sup>), 75 (38<sup>r</sup>), 76 (38<sup>v</sup>); Edition: Sotoodeh 1962, 87–88, 190, 194–195. <sup>2</sup>Cod: بجناک <sup>3</sup>Cod: بجناک <sup>4</sup>Cod: گرز <sup>5</sup>Cod: گرز

**Abū'l-Fidā'**

3. They are a Turkic people.
2. One of them (learned persons) said: The country of the Magyars lies between the country of the Pechenegs and the *'sk.k*, who belong to the Bulgars
15. They are fire-worshippers.
6. They are yurt- and tent-dwelling people. They follow the rainfall and the grass fields (grazing areas).
7. The length of their country is 100 parasangs (long) by 100 (parasang wide).
8. One border of their country reaches the country of Rūm,
24. their other border is adjacent to the desert.

***Hudūd al-'ālam*****1. Discourse on the Magyar Country**

2. East of it is a mountain; south of it, a tribe of Christians called W.n.nd.r; west and north of (the Magyars) are the districts of the Rūs.
4. This country has some 20,000 men who take the field with their king.
5. The king of this country is called *kh.l.t*.
7. This country is 150 parasangs in length by 100 parasangs in breadth.
8. In winter they stay on the bank of a river which separates them from the Rūs. Their food is fish and they live on it.
20. They are very rich but base people.
12. This country possesses many trees and running waters.
18. The (people) are good-looking and awe-inspiring.
14. The Majgharī are at war with all the infidels living around them and are (usually) victorious.
3. And all these whom we have mentioned are the different categories of Turks (existing in the) world. Now we shall mention all the lands of Islam, and then the rest of the lands of the infidels, lying in the western parts.<sup>1</sup>

**11. Discourse on the Country of Mirwāt**

East of it are some mountains, and some of the Khazarian Pechenegs; south of it, some of the Khazarian Pechenegs and the Gurz Sea; west of it, some parts of the latter, and the Inner Bulghārs;

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1 Minorsky 1937, 101.



FIGURE 1 Magyar Chapter from the facsimile edition of the MS of *Hudūd al-Ālam*. *Hudūd al-Ālam: rukopis' Tumanskogo (Hudūd al-Ālam: the manuscript of Tumanskiĭ)*, introd. and indexes by V.V. Bartold, Leningrad, 1930 (facsim. ed.), p. 37.



FIGURE 2 *Mirwāt Chapter from the facsimile edition of the MS of Hudūd al-Ālam. Hudūd al-Ālam: rukopis' Tumanskogo (Hudūd al-Ālam: the manuscript of Tumanskiĭ), introd. and indexes by V.V. Bartold, Leningrad, 1930 (facsim. ed.), p. 75.*



است و کوه و نندر و این مردمانی اند ترسا و بدو زبان سخن گویند بتازی و برومی و لباسشان لباس عریست و ایشان با روم و ترک یاری کنند و خداوندان قبة و خرگاهند

سخن اندر ناحیت و نندر

ناحیتیست مشرقش براداس و جنوبش خزران و مغربش کوه و شمالش مجغری و مردمانی اند بد دل و ضعیف و درویش و کم خواسته

### al-Marwazī<sup>1</sup>

والمجفریة قوم من الترك لهم اراضی كثيرة تبلغ مائة فرسخ في مائة فرسخ ورئيسهم يركب في مقدار عشرين الف فارس ويسمى رئيسهم كنده<sup>2</sup> وهذا الاسم شعار لملكهم وهم اهل قباب يسيرون مع الكلاء والخصب وحد من بلادهم يتصل ببحر الروم وهناك نهران ينصبان في ذلك البحر أحدهما أكبر من جيحون<sup>3</sup> ومساكن المجفریة<sup>4</sup> بين هذين النهرين واسم النهرين رونا<sup>5</sup> وأتل وبلاد المجفریة<sup>6</sup> ذات مشاجر ولهم مزارع وهم يغلبون على من يليهم من الصقالبة والروس ويسبون منهم ويحملون السبايا الى الروم فيبيعون هناك وللمجفریة<sup>7</sup> زواء ومنظر حسن وجنث ضخام ولهم ثروة وأموال ظاهرة لكثرة تجارتهم

وفي الشتا يغير المجفریة<sup>8</sup> عليهم

<sup>1</sup>Manuscript: British Museum ms Delhi, Arabic 1949: 22<sup>r</sup>, 22<sup>v</sup>; Edition: Minorsky 1942, 22. <sup>2</sup>Cod:

المجفریة<sup>8</sup> Cod: للمجفریة<sup>7</sup> Cod: المجفریة<sup>6</sup> Cod: رونا<sup>5</sup> Cod: المجفریة<sup>4</sup> Cod: جيحون<sup>3</sup> كیده

north of it, some of the latter and the W.n.nd.r mountains. They are Christians and speak two languages: Arabic and Rūmī (Byzantine Greek?). They dress like the Arabs. They are on friendly terms with the Turks and the Rūm. They own tents and felt-huts.<sup>1</sup>

### 9. Discourse on the Country of W.n.nd.r

East of it are the B.rādhās; south of it, the Khazars; west of it, mountains; north of it, the Majgharī. They are cowards, weak, poor, and possess few goods.<sup>2</sup>

#### al-Marwazī

3. The Magyars are a Turkic people.

7. They have wide territories, reaching the distance of 100 parasangs by 100 parasangs.

4. Their chieftain rides at the head of 20,000 horsemen.

5. The name of their chieftain is *k.nd.h*. This name is the title of their king.

6. They are tent-dwelling people. They migrate following the herbage and vegetation.

8. One border of their country reaches the Sea of Rūm. There are found here two rivers which flow into this sea. One of them is bigger than the Jayhūn (Oxus). The lands of the Magyars lie between these two rivers.

10. The names of the two rivers are Rūnā and Atil.

12. The country of the Magyars abounds in trees.

13. They also have sown fields.

14. They overcome those of the Ṣaqāliba and Rūs who are their neighbours, taking captives from them; they carry the captives to Rūm and sell them there.

18. The Hungarians are handsome and very comely, and their bodies are bulky.

20. They have wealth and visible property on account of their great commerce.<sup>3</sup>

25. In the winter the Hungarians raid them (the Slavs).<sup>4</sup>

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1 Minorsky 1937, 160.

2 Minorsky 1937, 162.

3 Cf. Minorsky 1942, 35.

4 Cf. Minorsky 1942, 36.

'Awfi<sup>1</sup>

دیگر قومی<sup>1</sup> از ترکان هستند<sup>2</sup> که ایشانرا محرفه<sup>3</sup> خوانند و ایشانرا ولایت بسیار است<sup>4</sup> و وسعت<sup>5</sup> ولایت ایشان صد فرسنگ<sup>6</sup> در صد<sup>7</sup> فرسنگ باشد<sup>8</sup> و رئیس ایشان وقتی که بر نشیند بیست هزار سوار باوی<sup>9</sup> بر نشیند و رئیس ایشانرا لنده<sup>10</sup> خوانند و ایشانرا خرگاه باشد و با مواشی<sup>11</sup> خود سفر کنند و زمین ایشان پیوسته است بدریای روم<sup>12</sup> و جایگاه این قوم بر کنارها<sup>13</sup> دو دریاست<sup>13</sup> یکی را وفا کویند<sup>14</sup> و یکی را اتل<sup>15</sup> و از جیحون بزرگتراند<sup>16</sup> و میان ایشان و صقلاییان<sup>17</sup> و روس<sup>18</sup> پیوسته جنک<sup>19</sup> باشد و ایشان<sup>20</sup> مدام بران جماعت غالب باشند و برده<sup>21</sup> ایشان اسیر کنند<sup>21</sup> و بروم برند و بفروشنند و ایشانرا پیوسته بسبب تجارت<sup>22</sup> نعمت بسیار باشند

**Shukrallāh, Bahjat ut-tawārikh<sup>23</sup>**

قبیله هفتم قومی اند از ترکان که ایشانرا محرفه کویند ولایت<sup>24</sup> ایشان صد فرسنگ<sup>25</sup> در صد فرسنگ است و امیر ایشانرا کیده خوانند و ایشان با خرگاه و با مواشی سفر کنند و زمین ایشان بزمین روم پیوسته و جایگاه ایشان بر کنار دو رود<sup>26</sup> است یکی را وفا کویند و یکی را اتیل هر یکی از جیحون بزرگتر است<sup>27</sup> و میان ایشان و صقلاییان و روس دشمنی پیوسته است و همیشه در جنک اند و تراکه محرفه دایم بر صقلاب و روس غالب باشند و اسیر کنند و بروم برند و بفروشنند

<sup>1</sup>British Museum Or. 2676 fol. 67<sup>r</sup>, parallel manuscripts: A = British Museum Or. 236; B = British Museum Add. 16862; C = British Museum Add. 7672. <sup>1</sup>A, C add: قوم اند B: اند <sup>2</sup>A, B, C omit the word. <sup>3</sup>A: محرفه; B: محفریه; C: محرقه <sup>4</sup>A: ست <sup>5</sup>B: بسبب <sup>6</sup>B adds: است <sup>7</sup>B: سر <sup>8</sup>B adds: و بادشاه <sup>9</sup>B: برابر وی <sup>9</sup>B: و رئیس ایشانرا کیده خوانند و در وقتی که: A and C mention the name of the ruler first: C concludes the sentence: B: زمین ایشان بر کنارها دو: <sup>10</sup>A continues: حواشی <sup>11</sup>B: کیده <sup>10</sup>B: همراه ایشان باشند: B contains the following interpolation: و دو دست که در زمین ایشان میروند و بدریای روم می بیوندند <sup>12</sup>B: رود است <sup>13</sup>A, <sup>16</sup>A, <sup>15</sup>B: نند خوانند: <sup>15</sup>B: دویا: B: وفا خوانند: <sup>14</sup>A, C: دو دست <sup>13</sup>B: و بر کنار زمین ایشان دو رود است C continues: <sup>17</sup>B: و: <sup>21</sup>A: ایشانرا: <sup>20</sup>B: حباکه: C: <sup>19</sup>A omits the word; C: در دین <sup>18</sup>Minorsky: سقلاییان: C: صقل بیان <sup>17</sup>B: ند: B: <sup>23</sup>The basic text is the manuscript of Sofia. The two manuscripts of the British Museum: A = British Museum Or. 2775; B = British Museum Or. 1627. Edition: Hazai 1957, 180, 182. <sup>24</sup>A: و ولایت: <sup>25</sup>A, B: صد فرسنگ است <sup>26</sup>B: رود <sup>27</sup>B omits the word.

### ‘Awfī

3. The *M.ḥr.f:h* are a Turkic people.
7. They have wide territories, reaching the distance of 100 parasangs by 100 parasangs.
4. When their chieftain rides out, 20,000 horsemen ride with him.
5. The name of their chieftain is *k.nd.h*.
6. They are tent-dwelling people. They migrate with their flocks (animals).
8. Their country adjoins the Sea of Rūm. The lands of this people lie on the banks of two rivers.
10. One of them is called *W.fā* and the other is *Atil*. They are bigger than the *Jayḥūn* (Oxus).
14. There is continuous war between them and the *Ṣaqāliba* and *Rūs*. They always defeat them, taking captives from them, they carry them to *Rūm*, and sell them.
20. Thanks to commerce they live always in prosperity.<sup>1</sup>

### Shukrallāh, Bahjat ut-tawāriḥ

3. The seventh tribe of the Turks is called *M.ḥr.q.h*.
7. Their country reaches the distance of 100 parasangs by 100 parasangs.
5. Their ruler is called *kīd*.
6. They migrate with the tents and flocks (animals).
8. Their country adjoins to the land of *Rūm*. Their lands lie on the banks of two rivers.
10. One of them is called *W.fā* and the other is *Atil*. Both are bigger than the *Jayḥūn* (Oxus).
14. The relationship between them and the *Ṣaqāliba* and *Rūs* is hostile, there are constant wars. The Turkman *M.ḥr.q.h* always defeat the *Ṣaqāliba* and *Rūs*, taking captives, they carry them to *Rūm* and sell them.

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1 Cf. Minorsky 1937, 324: translation of the paragraphs 8, 10, 14, 20. “Their lands adjoins the *Rūm* [= Black] Sea. The haunts of this people are on the banks of two rivers (*daryā*), of which the one is called *W.fā* and the other *Atil*, both being larger than the *Jayḥūn*. Between them and the *Saqālib* goes on a perpetual war about religion and they are constantly victorious over the (Slavs), and taking prisoners from them carry them to *Rūm* and sell them. They are continuously in possession of great wealth on account (of this) trade.”]

### Shükrallāh, Behjet üt-tewārikh<sup>1</sup>

یدنجی قبیلہ یہ محرقہ درلر ترک لردن در<sup>1</sup> و بونلرک ولایتلری یوز فرسنکدر و پادشاهلر نہ کئیدہ درلر<sup>2</sup> هر قنده کم سفر اتسلر<sup>3</sup> بار و بنکاه و حواشی و تحت خرکاه و مواشی ایله سفر ایدرلر و مملکتلری روم مملکتینه اولشمشدر و آرام ایده جک مقام و جایکاهلری ایکی عظیم ایرمق<sup>4</sup> کنارنده واقع اولمشدر کم برنه وفا و برنه آتیل درلر<sup>5</sup> هر بری جیحونله سیحوندن بیوکدر بونلرله و صقلاییلر و روس مابینده یاز و قیش متصل خرب و جنگ<sup>6</sup> در اما تراکمه محترقه دائما صقلاب و روس طائفه سنه غالب اوله کلمشدر و بونلری دزن دزن زنجیره<sup>7</sup> اورب اسیر ایدرلر و اوزرلرندہ<sup>8</sup> بولن جنس و سره و سمور پوستن لرنی صویرلر جبلاق رومه کتورب<sup>9</sup> صتارلر<sup>10</sup>

### Muhammad Kātib<sup>11</sup>

قبیلہء هفتم اتراکدن محرقه دیمکله معروف بو جاعتک مملکتلری یوز فرسنک در سرور و صغدرلرینه کیت دیرلر بو طایفه نک لیل و نهار هرکاه مواشی ایله سفرلری واردر و مملکتلری زمین رومه پیوسته در مسکن و ماوالری وقا و اتیل نام ایکی نهر عظیمک ما بینده واقع اولمشدر اول نهرک هر بری نیل و جیحوندن اکبردر و صقلابه و روس بونلر ایله دایما عداوت اوزره در رزم و محاربه لری اولدقده هر زمان صقالب و روسه بونلر غلبه ایدر و انلردن اسیر آلوب ولایت رومه ایلدوب فروخت ایدرلر

### Hājī Khalifa<sup>12</sup>

بری دخی محرقه در کوچر اولی طولوا و عرضا یوز فرسخ یرده اولورلر ایکی نهر عظیم اراسیدر بری اتل و بری تن صویبی صقلابه و روس بونلرله دائما حربده در بونلر اکثر غالب اولورلر الدقلری اسیری رومه کتورب بیع ایدرلر

<sup>1</sup>The basic text is the ms of Sofia. A = British Museum Or. 9266. Edition: Hazai 1957, 181, 183. <sup>1A</sup>: <sup>2A</sup>: یدنجی قبیلہ ترک لردن محرقه دیرلر <sup>3A</sup>: اتسه لر <sup>4A</sup>: ارماغ <sup>5A</sup>: دیرلر <sup>6A</sup>: جنگ و یوریش <sup>7A</sup>: جنک و یوریش <sup>8A</sup>: زنجیرله <sup>9A</sup>: کتورلر <sup>10A</sup>: کتورلر <sup>11</sup>Edition: Hammer 1827, 123–124. <sup>12</sup>Edition: Hazai 1957, 181, 183.

### Shükrallāh, Behjet üt-tewārikh

- 3 The seventh people are called *M.ḥr.q.h.* They are of the Turks.
7. Their country has [an expansion of] 100 parasangs.
- 5 Their ruler is called *kīd.h.*
6. Wherever they go, they go together with their chattels, tents, the retinue [of the ruler], the court of the ruler and the animals.
8. Their country adjoins to the land of Rūm. Their resting places and quarters lie on the banks of two rivers.
10. One of them is called *W.fā*, the other *Atil*. Both are larger than the *Jaykhūn* and *Sayhūn*.
14. Between them and *Şaqlāb* and *Rūs* there are always wars and battles in summer and in winter. The Turkman *M.ḥr.q.h.* defeat constantly the people of *Şaqlāb* and *Rūs*. Chained together in rows they take them captive. They pull off the stuffs, clothes, and the sable skin they wear from them and bring them naked to *Rūm*, and they sell [them].

### Muḥammad Kātib

3. The seventh tribe are of the Turks, and they are known by the name *M.ḥr.q.h.*
7. The country of this people has [an expansion of] 100 parasangs.
5. Their ruler and chief is called *kīt*.
6. These people migrate day and night together with their tents and animals.
8. Their country is adjacent to the land of *Rūm*.
10. Their dwellings and quarters are between the two large rivers called *W.qā* and *Atil*. Both are larger than the Nile and *Jayhūn*.
14. The relationship between them and *Şaqāliba* and *Rūs* is always hostile. They defeat the *Şaqāliba* and *Rūs* constantly in their battles and wars. They take captives from them and bring them to the land of *Rūm*, and they sell [them].

### Ḥājji Khalīfa

3. One (of them) is the *M.ḥr.q.h.* too.
6. These people are nomads (tent-dwelling).
7. They live in a place of 100 parasangs in width and length,
8. between two large rivers,
10. one of them is *At.l* and the other is *T.n Şūyī*.
14. *Şaqāliba* and *Rūs* are constantly at war with them. Usually they defeat them and taking captives they bring them to *Rūm* and sell them.

## The Interpretation of the Magyar Chapter

### 1 The Name of the Magyars

Ibn Rusta: al-mujf.riyya, al-m.jf.riyya (6), al-m.ḥf.riyya  
 Gardīzī: C: m.jgh/f.riyān (4), m.ḥf.riyān (3), m.jf.riyān (2), x.jgh.ūyān  
 O: m.jgh/f.rījān (5), m.ḥf.rījān (4), x.jf.rījān  
 Al-Bakrī: m.ḥf.riyya/m.jf.riyya  
 Abū'l-Fidā': al-m.jghriyya  
*Ḥudūd al-‘ālam*: m.jgh/f.rī, m.jgh/f.rī, (3), m.jf.rī  
 Al-Marwazī: al-m.ḥf.riyya, al-m.ḥ'.riyya (3), al-m.j'.riyya  
 ‘Awfī: m.ḥr.f.h A: مخرفه; B: مخفريه; C: مخرقه  
 Shukrallāh: m.ḥr.q.h (cf. 14)  
 Shūkrallāh: m.ḥr.q.h (cf. 14: Türkmen m.ḥt.rq.h)  
 Muḥammad Kātib: m.ḥr.q.h  
 Ḥājji Khalīfa: m.ḥr.q.h

The form *majghir* or *majghar* مجغر has usually been reconstructed from the authors' manuscripts of the Jayhānī tradition. The ethnonym is found once as the title of the chapter in the form *المجفريّة* *al-mujfriyya*, six times as *المجفريّة* *al-m.jf.riyya*, and indeed once as *المجفريّة* *al-m.ḥf.riyya* in the manuscripts of Ibn Rusta. Although the shape *m.jgh/f.riyān* can be found four times, it cannot be decided whether the reading should be *gh* غ or *f* ف, for the forms *m.ḥf.riyān* and *m.jf.riyān* occur three times and twice, respectively, in Gardīzī's Cambridge manuscript, and finally occurs once as *مجغويان* *x.jgh.ūyān* with an uncertain initial and with *ū* و instead of *r* ر. The Oxford manuscript of Gardīzī contains the uncertain reading *m.jgh/f.riyān* five times, *m.ḥf.riyān* four times, and the ethnonym *x.jf.riyān* once. Al-Bakrī has the form *al-m.ḥ/jf.riyya*. Abū'l-Fidā' gave the exact reading of the ethnonym: "with *mīm* and *jīm* and *ghayn* with a diacritical point and *rā'* without diacritical points and a letter with two points below (*y*) then *hā'* at the end," i.e. *m.jgh.riyya*.<sup>1</sup> The uncertain form *m.jgh/f.rī* appears twice and *m.jf.rī* once in *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam*. Al-Marwazī recorded the form *al-m.ḥf.riyya* first, then *al-m.ḥ'.riyya* three times without diacritical points, and finally *al-m.j'.riyya*. There are new variants in the late Persian Shukrallāh and

1 Reinaud 1840, 222.

its Turkic translations. The author of the *Bahjat at-tawārīḥ* recorded *m.hr.q.h*, but there is another variant in the Turkish translation of the form *m.ḥt.rq.h*.

The relationship among the different forms can be reconstructed in most cases. The final *-īyya* in the Arabic texts (Ibn Rusta, al-Bakrī and al-Marwazī) is a well-known composite suffix. Its first component, the *-ī*, forms an adjective from a noun, while the *-a* is the feminine ending as well as an abstract noun or collective suffix,<sup>2</sup> which was used similarly in other ethnonyms.<sup>3</sup> The ethnonyms in Persian end in *-ī*. The general rule is reflected in the Persian *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam*. Gardīzī completed this form with the Persian plural *-ān*: *m.jf.rīyān*. According to Nyitrai both forms can be explained from the Arabic *al-m.jf.rīyya*.<sup>4</sup>

The letter *m* at the beginning of the word of the ethnonym is well-attested, the only exception being the form *x.jf.rīyān* of Gardīzī, and the uncertainty of the reading is easily explained. The copyist writing the Arabic form *al-m.jf.r* in the Persian translation probably could not identify the letters *lām mīm* but wanted to indicate that the word began with a consonant (المحفر ~ المحفر *al-m.jf.r* ~ *al-x.jf.r*). It may therefore be regarded as an error of the copyist.

There are two consonants in the middle of the ethnonym. The first may be read as *ḥ* or *j* ج or ح, differing solely in a diacritical point. Identifying the second consonant, however, is more complicated. Ibn Rusta clearly used the letter *f*, and similarly Gardīzī has *f* five times, but another five times the readings are uncertain and either *f* or *gh* ف or غ can be reconstructed. Referring to the *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam* and the works of al-Marwazī and al-Bakrī a similar conclusion may be drawn: some readings as *f* are certain, but both readings are possible in other instances. The similarity of the two letter forms seems to have been a cause of uncertainty.

Abū'l-Fidā' gave an exact reading: *m.jgh.r*, but he wrote his work in 14th century, four centuries after the Magyar conquest of the Carpathian Basin in 895. The basic difficulty in reading foreign names in Arabic script is the lack of appropriate pronunciation, for without such outside information the copyist must rely exclusively on the written forms. Yākūt wrote his geographical dictionary at the beginning of the 13th century. He mentioned the Hungarians under the title *bāshghird* باشغرد but recorded two other variants: *bāshjird*, *bāshqird* باشجرد, باشقرد.<sup>5</sup> Yākūt composed his articles from different sources and did not

2 Czeglédy, MÓT, 61, note 2.

3 Ibn Rusta has the following names of Eastern European peoples with the same suffix: *al-bajānākīyya*, *al-bulkārīyya* (but the form is more often *bulkār*), *al-ṣaqlabīyya*, *al-rūsīyya*.

4 Nyitrai 1997, 106.

5 Wüstenfeld 1866 I, 468.



intend to standardize the various readings. Abū'l-Fidā's reading means that the Hungarian ethnonym was recorded as *m.jgh.r* in the 14th century.

The reconstruction of the name was based on the text edition of Ibn Rusta by de Goeje, who considered the form *al-majgh.riyya* authentic. He argued in a footnote as follows: In most instances *gh* must be read instead of *f*, and in addition there is a *dhamma*, that is a short *u* above the first letter, to indicate that *u* follows the consonant. There is no sign of a short vowel in other cases. They are *Magiari* (Magyars) as indicated by Constantine Porphyrogenitus in the form of the tribal name Μεγέρη.<sup>6</sup> The emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus listed the tribal names of the Hungarian confederacy, of which the *Meger* was the one used as the ethnonym of Hungarian people. De Goeje reconstructed the tribal name on the basis of the Byzantine datum. Therefore, the form *al-mujf.riyya* occurring as the title of the Hungarian chapter was corrected to *al-majgh.riyya*. The change of the short *u* into *a* and the preference for *gh* in place of *f* can be explained by the Greek Μεγέρη, i.e. the first vowel of the Greek form and the  $\gamma$  influenced de Goeje.

In any case, the Greek form corresponds to *al-Majar* in the Arabic works of the Mongol period. Al-Dimashqī (1256–1327) mentioned it in connection with a river that is probably the Don: “The river of al-Ṣaqāliba and al-Rūs is a huge river which originates in the mountains of Saqsān and the mountains of al-Kalābiyya. Several rivers flow into it from the lands of Bāshqird, the Mājār and from the territory of Surdāq.”<sup>7</sup> His contemporary, Abū'l-Fidā' (1273–1331) wrote about the river Danube: “It flows through along the eastern side of the mountains which is called Qashqā Tāgh. Its meaning is ‘difficult mountain’ because it is difficult to climb. This is a mountain range, where various pagan peoples live such as *al-awlāq*,<sup>8</sup> *al-sarb al-mājār* and others.”<sup>9</sup>

As well as the Arabic sources, the same ethnonym appears in Persian works. The Persian translation of the response of the Mongol Great Khan Güyük to the letter of Pope Innocent IV recorded by Plano Carpini contains the variant *mājar*.<sup>10</sup> Rashīd al-Dīn designated the Hungarians, among others, as *Mājār* in

6 “Cod. plerumque cum *f* pro *gh* h.l. prima littera cum *dhamma* scribitur. alibi sine voc. Sunt Magiari. Cf. Apud Constant. Porph. De adm. imp. p. 172 Μεγέρη” BGA VII, 142 note d.

7 Cosmographie, 106.

8 Presumably this form derives from the Cuman designation for the Walach (Golden 1987, 77–78).

9 Géographie d'Aboulféda, 63.

10 Ligeti, MNyTK 11, 73, 75, 78.

his *Compendium of Chronicles* several times.<sup>11</sup> As this form is identical with that of the *Secret History of the Mongols*, it might have been borrowed originally from the Mongols.<sup>12</sup>

Róna-Tas identified the Hungarian ethnonym *majar* in a personal name on a Volga Bulgarian epitaph written in Arabic in 1311.<sup>13</sup> It was the tomb of a member of the Hungarian community discovered by the Dominican friar Julianus in 1236 that survived the Mongol invasion in the Volga region.

Al-‘Umarī mentioned the town called *Mājar* in the Golden Horde.<sup>14</sup> Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited the town in 1334 and wrote a detailed description.<sup>15</sup> Marco Polo recorded it as *Mengiar*.<sup>16</sup> In the 16th century the town had two monasteries, but only ruins remained in the 18th and 19th centuries. Coins were minted in the town during the 14th century, of which two have the inscription *majar al-jadīd* ‘New Magyar’. The city must have been destroyed during Toqtamis’ rule (1377–1397). The name of the town has been preserved in place names, *Mozharskoye Ozero* and *Mozharsk* on the lower Kuma. According to Németh, the town Magyar can be connected with the Mongol invasion, i.e. Hungarians were settled there as war prisoners, and thus has nothing to do with the Magyars before the conquest of the Carpathian Basin.<sup>17</sup>

To return to the form of the Jayhānī tradition, it should be noted that Barthold and Minorsky regarded de Goeje’s reconstruction *al-majghar* as authentic, and it became the standard variant in the literature. Kmoskó pointed out that the two manuscripts of Gardīzī include *m.hf.rīyān* in most cases, but the form *m.jgh.rīyān* is also to be found. Ibn Rusta recorded *al-m.jf.rīyya* in general and *m.hf.rīyya* once, and the copyist wrote *al-mujf.rīyya* with a short vowel sign in the first syllable in the headline. The latter form was associated with the ethnonym *Moger* in the *Gesta Hungarorum* of the medieval Hungarian Anonymus in the earlier Hungarian literature, a connection that was convincingly refuted by Czeglédý. He noted that the Hungarian ethnonym occurred ten times “with the erroneous *m.hf.rīyya* form which is almost identical with *m.jgh.rīyya*”<sup>18</sup> in the works of Ibn Rusta and Gardīzī al-Bakrī; the former can also be identified with an Arabic noun. Czeglédý reconstructed *m.jgh.r* and compared it with the

11 Ali-Zade 1980, 119, 165; Thackston 1999, 324, 331; Ligeti, MNYTK II, 77–79.

12 Ligeti, MNYTK II, 79–80.

13 Róna-Tas 1986, 232–233.

14 Lech 1968, 142, note 79: 305–306.

15 Gibb 1962, 479–481.

16 Pelliot, Notes, 777–778.

17 Németh 1991, 306–312.

18 Czeglédý MÓT, 62.

oldest data of the monuments of the Hungarian language, and concluded that the original reading could be *majghir*.<sup>19</sup>

The ethnonym *m.jf/gh.r* can be found in the form *al-j.fr* in the list of the Turkic peoples in the work of Ibn Khurdādhbih.<sup>20</sup> De Goeje reconstructed *al-jiqir* and identified it with the Turkic Chigil.<sup>21</sup> However, the form *al-j.fr* seems to be correct from palaeographic point of view.<sup>22</sup> Minorsky and Czeglédy preferred the latter possibility.<sup>23</sup> Al-Jayhānī used the work of Ibn Khurdādhbih, the lost part of which might have included a description of the Magyars, and thus this form might only have been preserved in a corrupted form in the list of the nomadic peoples.

The early medieval self-designation of the Hungarians is *Moger* [pronunciation: *Majer*] in the Latin sources. This original form developed to *Magyar*, the ethnonym of the Hungarians in the Hungarian language, and to *Megyer*, which was earlier the leading tribe of the confederacy in a Turkic language.<sup>24</sup>

Several interpretations have been advanced to explain the relation between Hungarian self-designation *Magyar* and the form *m.jf/gh.r* to be consistent. The Hungarians were mentioned under various ethnonyms in the Muslim sources, including among others variants of the ethnic name of the Bashkirs (*bāshjird*, *bashjird*, *bājghird*). According to Róna-Tas the genuine Turkic form can be reconstructed as *bachghird*.<sup>25</sup> Different methods have been proposed to connect the two ethnonyms. There are at least three theories on the presumed relationship between *bājghird* and *mājghir*. Marquart supposed it to be a typical Muslim fabrication without any historical value based on near-homophony between the names of the Magyars and Bashkirs—a simple confusion of the similar names of the two peoples.<sup>26</sup> To the contrary, Németh argued that the Turkic-speaking Bashkirs inherited the former name of the Magyars living east of the Volga and the Magyar group remaining in the old habitat merged with the Bashkirs after the Mongol invasion.<sup>27</sup> Ligeti brought forth an intermediate solution using a new etymology, according to which the original form was *majghir* (the first syllable is *maj* plus the suffix *-ghir*). The form *majer* was derived

19 Czeglédy MÓT, 58–63.

20 BGA VI, 31; HKÍF, 19–20, 52.

21 Marquart 1903, 77.

22 Manuscript A: *al-h.fr* الحفر; Manuscript B: *al-j.gh.h* الجنه; see BGA VI, 31.

23 Minorsky, 1937, 319, note 2; Czeglédy, MÓT, 34–35.

24 Róna-Tas 1996, 236; 1999, 305–307.

25 Róna-Tas 1996, 223; 1999, 290.

26 Marquart 1903, 68–69.

27 Németh 1930, 299–315, 345.

from it in the Hungarian language in the 9th–10th centuries. Their neighbors, speaking a Chuvash-type Turkic language, called the Magyars *bajghir* due to a regular sound law in their language: *bajghir* < Hungarian *majghir*. The Turkic-speaking people moved to the area in the Volga-Kama region inhabited by the Magyars earlier and the Turkic name of the Magyars was transferred to them.<sup>28</sup> Ligeti's new etymology is open to criticism from the linguistic point of view on several points. Perhaps the main difficulty is that the second element of the form *majghir*, the suffix *-ghir*, is "without definable function".<sup>29</sup>

Róna-Tas looked for another solution to the problem of the medial *gh*. He reconstructed the basic form as *maja'ar* *مجر*, as the difference between *gh* غ and 'ع is only a diacritical point in the Arabic script. This form could be a compound of two ethnonyms: the first element would be *maja*, identical with *Manshi*, whose language belongs to the Ob-Ugrian languages, the closest relative of the Hungarian language, whereas the second part would be *Er*, the well-attested ethnonym of a Finno-Ugric-speaking community in the area between the Volga and the Ural in the Middle Ages. The Arab author intended to illustrate the difference in vowel harmony tone with the Arabic guttural 'ayn. Later copyists changed the Arabic form *m.ja'.r* into *m.jgh.r* under the influence of the analogous form *b.jgh.r* of the Bashkirs.<sup>30</sup> This theory needs further corroboration and similar examples in non-Arabic names showing the same phonetic distinction.

The latest proposed etymology of the Hungarian ethnonym was worked out by Árpád Berta, who reconstructed *Manjer*, which could derive from the Turkic *Banjer*. The latter can be found in the *History* of al-Ṭabarī in the form *b.nj.r* as the designation of one of the Turkic peoples of the Caucasus in the 6th century. The name has a Turkic etymology: *banjer*, 'main (central) place', and it fits with his conception of the etymologies of the Magyar tribal names as following a system of military terms.<sup>31</sup>

In any case, the reconstruction of *m.jgh.r* (de Goeje) as one of two forms, *majghir* (Károly Czeglédy, and following him the Hungarian literature) or *majghar* (Barthold, Minorsky, Lewicki), is widespread and has become the standard form. However, the manuscripts of the authors of the Jayhānī tradition contain an uncertain reading *m.jgh/f.r* that calls into question whether the *m.jgh.r*-reading should be considered original.

28 Ligeti 1986, 400.

29 Ligeti 1986, 111.

30 Róna-Tas 1996, 234–237; 1999, 294–297.

31 Berta 1997, 216–218.

### *Folk Etymologies of the Designation Magyar*

The late Persian and Turkish translation of Shukrallāh preserved the designation *m.ḥr.q.h* محرقه, which can be read *muḥraqa* meaning ‘burnt offering, holocaust,’ a derivation of the Arabic verb *ḥaraqā* ‘burn’. It was a normal practice of Muslim authors and copyists to try to identify unknown and strange-sounding ethnonyms with Arabic words. The Arabic script does not mark short vowels in general, so the pronunciation of foreign names is not known from the spelling in most cases. The Muslim copyists and transcribers might be expected to have interpreted the written forms automatically as Arabic words adapted to the Arabic grammatical system.

The manuscripts of ‘Awfi contain the following forms: B: محفريه *m.ḥf.rīyya* A: محرقه *m.ḥr.fah*; C: محرقه *m.khr.qah*, which provide the key to explaining the form *m.ḥr.qah* محرقه in Shukrallāh. First, the two consonants *f* and *r* were inverted, then the original *f* was changed to *q* by adding a diacritical point. Shukrallāh’s Turkic translation had a new extended form *m.ḥt.rqa*, the past participle of the verb stem VIII. *muḥtaraqā*. The meaning of the verb *iḥtaraqā* is ‘to be burnt down’, derived from the stem I. *ḥaraqā* ‘burn’. It is thus an example of adding a new letter to the original name (محرقه محترقه).

One of the clearest examples of folk etymology is perhaps the ethnonym Turk in the Muslim literature, which is discussed in detail below, by which the term ‘Turk’ is interpreted as an Arabic noun from the verb *taraka* ‘let, leave’.<sup>32</sup>

Kmoskó, and following him Czeglédy, have pointed out that the forms *m.jf.r~m.ḥf.r* can be reconstructed from the variants in the manuscripts of authors representing the Jayhānī tradition. The latter can be explained as a participle of a verb stem II or noun of place formed from the first form of the verb in accordance with the rules of Arabic grammar. *M.ḥf.r* محفر can be read either *muḥaffar* ‘dug, excavated’ or *mahfar* ‘place of digging’, both in turn deriving from the verb *ḥafara* ‘dig’. According to Kmoskó the folk etymology of the Magyar ethnonym could be combined with the expression *al-arḍ al-mahfūra* ‘depressed, excavated land’ which was a title of the legendary story by Abū’l-Fidā’. Czeglédy explained that the copyists might mark a short *u* in the first syllable in the manuscript of Ibn Rusta to refer to the expression *muḥaffariyya* ‘a people belonging to the depressed land’, which is another form of the term *al-arḍ al-muḥaffara* or the parallel compound *al-arḍ al-mahfūra*.<sup>33</sup>

32 Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 96, note 13.

33 Czeglédy, МОТ, 62.

The legendary tale of the depressed land and its association with the folk etymology of the Hungarian ethnonym was first studied by Kmoskó, who collected the relevant passages in the works of al-Idrīsī, Abū'l-Fidā' and al-Mas'ūdī.<sup>34</sup>

In his geographical work al-Idrīsī divided the inhabited world into seven parallel zones, i.e. climates from south to north, and into ten stripes from west to east. Chapter 8 of Clime VII contains the "Story of the depressed land" (*al-ard al-mahfūra*). Al-Idrīsī wrote: "And Al-Jayhānī reports in his book: the travellers, having come out of the fetid land, see this valley. They travel along the rims during one day, but are unable to descend into it on any side, because the terrain is very deep and the approaches grim. However, they are of the opinion that this land is inhabited, for on several spots they see smoke during broad daylight and fires during the night, which appear and disappear at intervals. The most surprising thing is that there is a river which flows from north to south, on which spectres appear and whose banks are covered with buildings. But it is impossible to descend into the valley or to climb out of it because the rims are steep."<sup>35</sup> Kmoskó noticed that it was the part of the itinerary of the interpreter Sallām, as evidenced by the mention of the fetid land.<sup>36</sup> There was a road to the wall of Gog and Magog via the Caucasus over the land of the Khazars, which then crossed the country of the Basjirt, black and fetid land, and the ruin of cities until finally it reached the wall of Gog and Magog, and behind it the unknown Muslim people in the middle of the 9th century. It can be reconstructed from the two variants of description of the interpreter Sallām. The longer version has come down to us in Chapter nine of Clime VI of al-Idrīsī's book.<sup>37</sup> As the tale of the depressed land is in another chapter and only the reference to the fetid land connects it to the itinerary of Sallām, it can be concluded that the basic versions did not include it. Al-Idrīsī himself named al-Jayhānī as the writer who combined the two stories. According to the geographical system of al-Idrīsī, the country Basjirt, the left/northern half of the fetid land and a large part of the country of Pechenegs belonged to the seventh part of the seventh clime.<sup>38</sup> Chapter 8 includes the passage of the fetid land and the depressed land to its north, while Chapter 9 contains the description of the wall of Gog and Magog. It seems quite clear on the basis of the Muslim geographical literature of the 10th century that the Pechenegs lived on the

34 Kmoskó 1/1, 127, note 408; Kmoskó 1/2, 181–182, note 183.

35 Donzel, Schmidt 2009, 220; Al-Idrīsī, 961; Jaubert 1840, II 438; Kmoskó 1/1, 127, note 408; Kmoskó 1/2, 181–182, note 183.

36 Kmoskó 1/1, 123–133.

37 Kmoskó 1/1, 126–127; al-Idrīsī, 935; Donzel, Schmidt 2009, 132–151.

38 al-Idrīsī, 960.

banks of the river Ural and the Bashkirs were their northern neighbours. For this reason, it is obvious that the fetid land and the depressed land to its north in the eastern neighbourhood of the Pechenegs and Bashkirs can be located on the southern slopes of the Ural mountains.

Abū'l-Fidā' had a parallel passage in his description of Europe: "East of the Pechenegs is the fetid land, which no one can cross without using fragrances. It is an (uninhabited) desert. North of it is the land of Basjird. They are infidels, and whoever comes to them, they kill him. East of it is the depressed land; its shape is round and its width is four days (journey), as its length. They say: it is inhabited by a people who cannot climb up from there, just as no one can descend into it because of the high depth."<sup>39</sup> It is an abbreviated extract of the depressed land from the work of al-Idrīsī. The description is important from a geographical point of view since the depressed land is in the immediate vicinity of the Bashkirs.

The tale can be traced back to the work of al-Jayhānī, where the depressed land is adjacent to the land Basjirt. Nevertheless the first sentence of al-Jayhānī's chapter on the Magyars refers to the first boundary of Magyar habitat between the land of the Pechenegs and the land of the tribe Askal belonging to the Volga Bulgars. It is interpreted that this territory of the Magyars must be located east of the Volga in a place where Ibn Faḡlān met the Bāshghird during his voyage between the Pechenegs and Volga Bulgars, although al-Jayhānī gave another description of the habitat of the Magyar tribal confederation, which can be determined exactly on the northern coast of the Black Sea. Al-Balkhī and his followers described two lands of the Basjirt, i.e. the Magyars, one of whom lived between the Ghuzz and the Volga Bulgars and the other in the Carpathian Basin in the first half of the 10th century. Al-Balkhī was not only al-Jayhānī's contemporary, but they were in contact with each other and it is more than possible that al-Jayhānī read and used the geographical compendium of al-Balkhī. I suggest that al-Jayhānī had found out the folk etymology of the Hungarian ethnonym by combining three different data: the habitat of the Magyars between the Volga Bulgars and Pechenegs east of the Volga; identification of the Magyars with Bashkirs in two different territories, one of which concided with the above mentioned habitat; and finally the tale of the "depressed land" in the area between the Volga and Ural Mountains. The legendary tale of the depressed land must have some real base.

Al-Mas'ūdī, another contemporary of al-Jayhānī, gave a description of a depressed land in his chapter on the Caucasus: "Beyond this nation the coast

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39 *Géographie d'Aboulféda* I, 206; cf. Ibn Sa'īd 1970, 207.

continues amid four mountains, each inaccessible and rising into the air. Between these four mountains the distance is about 100 *mīl*, all in one plain. In the centre of the latter is a circular depression as if drawn with a pair of compasses. Its circumference has the form of a well sunk in solid rock in a perfectly round shape. This circumference is about 50 *mīl* of continuous downward cutting, similar to a wall built from below upwards. The bottom (of the depression) lies about two *mīl* deep and there is no means of reaching the (level floor) of this circle. At night numerous lights are seen in it at different places and by day one sees in it villages, cultivated lands, rivers flowing amid them, men and beasts. All these things, however, are seen in reduced form in view of the distance down to the bottom. It is not known of what race the people are and they have no way of coming up in any direction. Nor is there any means for those above to descend to them."<sup>40</sup>

According to Kmoskó, al-Mas'ūdī might have used al-Jayhānī's book as the source of this description, but there is a problem with such an origin because his tale can be connected with coastal areas of the Black Sea, while the depressed land portrayed by al-Jayhānī lay in the region of the Ural Mountains.<sup>41</sup> Studying the geographical system in al-Mas'ūdī's description of the Caucasus allows a determined itinerary to be unfolded. The starting point is the territory on the Caspian Sea, then the lands of the northern mountain ranges of the Caucasus are followed west: Sarīr, Alans, Circassians. The latter lived in the western fringe of the Caucasus and on the Black Sea. Afterwards, the people of the so-called 'Seven Lands' on the seacoast were described, then the people of Iram were mentioned, who also lived on the seashore beyond a huge river flowing into the Black Sea. There then follows a story of miraculous, meat-giving fish that can be red which were sent to the the peoples of Gog and Magog to feed them.<sup>42</sup> It is followed by the passage of the depressed land and the description of another depression on the coast that is not so deep, but covered with thickets and woods. Then after a long story about monkeys there is a historical account on the Pechenegs and Hungarians (*bajghird, nūkarda*), who raided the Balkan provinces of Byzantium in 934. Finally, he returned to the Alania and its southern neighbours Abkhazia and Georgia.<sup>43</sup> Minorsky presumed that the sight of the steppe on the northern part of the Crimean peninsula from the Crimean mountains may have inspired the author of the source that al-Mas'ūdī

40 Minorsky 1958, 159; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* II, 48–49; II<sup>2</sup>, 231–232; Rotter, 1978, 101; Pellat I, 175; Kmoskó 1/2, 181.

41 Kmoskó 1/2, 181–182, note 183.

42 Kmoskó 1/2, 181, note 182.

43 Kmoskó 1/2, 177–186; Minorsky 1958, 159.



copied in connection with the tale of the “depressed land”.<sup>44</sup> In any case, there are two characteristic features connecting the two accounts: the story of the fish, a hint/allusion to the Legend of Gog and Magog, and the geographical proximity of the Magyars and Pechenegs. The story of the depressed land, however, may have been copied by al-Jayhānī and al-Mas‘ūdī independent of each other, but the legendary tale of the depressed land may have been connected with Gog and Magog in the original source. The real core of the tale must be a deep, inaccessible valley in the mountains of the Caucasus which could have been transformed with a bit of imagination into the legend of the “depressed land”.<sup>45</sup> The story might also have had ancient precursors. Latishev collected ancient authors’ passages about the Scythians and the Caucasus. Epiphaneus episcopus Constantina mentioned a ravine inside Scythia in his book entitled *Twelve Stones*, because of its depth it is not accessible and the bottom is not visible from its wall-like top. Only convicted felons were sent there.<sup>46</sup>

In summary, the development of the phases and elements of al-Jayhānī’s legendary story can be reconstructed. There was a description of a large and deep valley, perhaps located in the Caucasus or another large mountain range, which was transformed into the legend of the depressed land, and the tale received a cultural-historical dimension by connecting it with the story of Gog and Magog borrowed by the Muslim literary tradition from the ancient world. Al-Mas‘ūdī transposed the “depressed land” to the vicinity of the Black Sea. Al-Jayhānī copied the account of the interpreter Sallām’s journey to the wall of Gog and Magog in his geographical compendium. According to al-Idrīsī, al-Jayhānī connected the tale of the depressed land with the fetid land, which was a typical part of the account of Sallām referring to the Muslim version of the story of Alexander the Great. The depressed land can be located in the southern region of the Ural Mountains on the basis of the geographical setting of al-Idrīsī’s compendium. Al-Jayhānī recorded a Magyar group between the Volga Bulgars and Pechenegs, i.e. east of the Volga, and he may have read the information on the two Magyar groups called Basjirt in al-Balkhī’s book and then identified the eastern group with that in his own chapter. It may be supposed that al-Jayhānī fabricated an Arabic folk etymology from the original ethnonym, which was available to him only in written form. The designation *majar* may have been transformed into an Arabic noun *m.hf.r* (مجر ~ محفر), similarly to the later developments *m.hf.r* → *m.hr.f* → *m.hr.q* → *m.htr.q* (مخفر محرق محترق).

44 Minorsky 1958, 159, note 3.

45 Donzel and Schmidt referred to the sight of the Taklamakan desert from the edge of the surrounding mountains: 2009, 220.

46 Latishev 1948, 247.

## 2 The Eastern Magyars

Ibn Rusta: Between the country of the Pechenegs and the *'sk.l* who belong to the Bulgars, lies the first border from among the borders of the Magyars.

Gardizī: Between the country of the Bulgars and the country of the *'sk.l* who also belong to the Bulgars, lies the border of the Magyars.

Al-Bakrī: They live between the country of the Pechenegs and the *'sk.l* who belong to the Bulgars.

Abū'l-Fidā': One of the (learned persons) said: The country of the Magyars lies between the country of the Pechenegs and the *'sk.k* who belong to the Bulgars.

*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*: East of it is a mountain; south of it, a tribe of Christians called *W.n.nd.r*; west and north of (the Magyars) are the districts of the Rūs.

### *Pechenegs*

Al-Bakrī preserved the authentic *b.jānākiyya* بجاناكية, while Ibn al-Rusta has the misspelled form *b.khānākiyya* بخاناكية; Gardizī copied the text carelessly and wrote *bulkā* instead of *bajānākiyya*, and he reinforced his own mistake by adding: “who *also* belong to the Bulgars”. He did not notice that the context is either incomprehensible or implies a situation in which the border of the Hungarians lay between the Bulgar tribe and the tribe of *'sk.l*, i.e. the Magyars lived between two tribes of the Volga Bulgar tribal confederation. In that case Gardizī interpreted the term Bulgar in two senses: the Bulgar tribal confederation and the Bulgar tribe, one of the tribes of the confederation. The parallel accounts prove that it was a misinterpretation of Gardizī's that has no historical value.

Schamiloglu collected and studied the different forms of the name Pecheneg in Muslim sources.<sup>47</sup> The etymology of the ethnonym has been explained as deriving from the Turkic-Kipchak noun *bača+nak* ‘brother-in-law’ plus a diminutive suffix. It was connected with a historical phenomena which is well-known among the nomads of the Eurasian steppe, i.e. the system of so-called brother-in-law clans.<sup>48</sup> Doerfer could not accept the etymology since the Turkic-Kipchak noun contains back vowels but the ethnonym contains front vowels (*bačanak ~ bāčänäk*).<sup>49</sup> Similarly to Ligeti, he did not offer a new etymology of the ethnonym.<sup>50</sup>

47 Schamiloglu 1984, 215–222.

48 Cf. *Secret History of the Mongols*: Rachewiltz 2006, 327; MTT, 144.

49 TMEN II, 223.

50 Ligeti 1986, 286; cf. Róna-Tas, Berta 2011, 121–122.

The early history of the Pechenegs has recently been thoroughly investigated. The Pechenegs were mentioned in the Tibetan translation of an 8th century Uygur (spy) report: "Northwest of them (the tribe *ī-byil-kor*) is the Pecheneg tribe, they have five thousand warriors. They led the war against the *Hor* (Uygurs). West of them is the *dru-gu* (Turkic) *Ha-la-yun-log* tribe. They are powerful and happy. The good *dru-gu* (Turkic) horses come from them. North of them, beyond the chain of barren sand dunes, are the people called *Ud-ha-dag-leg*, their feet have ox hooves and their bodies are covered with hair. They like human flesh."<sup>51</sup> The habitat of the people *ī-byil-kor* was localized south of the mountains Tarbagatay and that of the Pechenegs was placed to the north of the Tarbagatay in the region of the Upper Irtysh. This is corroborated by the western neighbours, the *Ha-la-yun-log*, which name can be reconstructed as *ala yuntlug* meaning 'having piebald horses' in Turkic. They lived in the region of the Ob, Irtysh and Isim rivers. The term *Ud-ha-dag-leg* can be identified with the Turkic expression *ud-adaqlig* 'having ox-legs', their habitat being between the Tobol and Upper Ural rivers. The war between the Pechenegs and the *Hor* was interpreted earlier as skirmishes between the Pechenegs and the Oguz.<sup>52</sup> This means that the Pechenegs lived in the vicinity of the Kazakh steppe, where the Oguz would have been adjacent to them. According to Senga the *Hor* must be identified with the Uygurs. In this case the Pechenegs settled in the area of the Upper Irtysh, where they might come into conflict with the Uygurs in the early 750s. The Uygur Khaghanate was founded in 744 and expanded its power as far as Dzungaria by 754. Tamīm ibn Baḥr visited the capital of Uygur Khagan in 821 and he did not mention the Pechenegs in the region of the Upper Irtysh, indicating that the Pechenegs left their lands and moved to the west between 754 and 821.<sup>53</sup>

The Pechenegs' lands can be identified with certainty in the area of Ural River, between the Khazar Khaghanate and the Oguz, in Constantine Porphyrogenitus's *De administrando imperio*.<sup>54</sup> There are two possibilities for their move there: The southern route may have led through the Semirech'e via the area next to the Syr Darya, which might have been an important temporary abode during the western migration. Along the northern route the Pechenegs could have crossed the southern part of the western Siberian plain.<sup>55</sup> In arguing for the southern route, the 37th chapter of Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *De*

51 Senga 1992, 503–516; 1996, 41.

52 Pritsak 1975, 215.

53 Senga 1992, 508–509.

54 DAI, 166–167; Moravcsik 1950, 166–167.

55 Senga 1992, 510; 1996, 44.

*administrando imperio* on the Pechenegs is worth mentioning: “The Pechenegs are also called ‘Kangar’, though not all of them, but only the folk of the three provinces of Iabdierti and Kouartzitzour and Chabouxingyla, for they are more valiant and noble than the rest: and that is what the title Kangar signifies.”<sup>56</sup> Marquart connected the name Kangar with *Kängäräs*, a name recorded in the runic inscriptions of the Türk Khaganate in connection with the Sogds and the Western Turks,<sup>57</sup> the *Kankar* of Ibn Khurdādhbih, which designated a certain part of the Syr Darya,<sup>58</sup> and *K’ang-chü* in the Chinese sources. Marquart pointed out that the area of the Syr Darya could have been an important station in the western migration of the Pechenegs.<sup>59</sup> Czeglédy compared the term *Kangar* with the ethnonym *Khangar* mentioned in the Syrian sources around 541 in the Caucasus.<sup>60</sup> Accordingly, the Kangar-Pecheneg tribal confederation was formed from two elements. The Pechenegs migrated from the East and the Kangars had lived in the Caucasus, and the two peoples merged in Eastern Europe during the 10th century.

According to Györffy the Uygurs defeated the Pechenegs, who escaped to the land of the people having piebald horses, being north and northwest of the Aral Sea. The Kangars might be identical with the *Kängäräs* and the people having piebald horses.<sup>61</sup> Györffy argued that the Pecheneg tribal names consisted of two elements, the first element in general the colouration of horses: *yavdi* ‘light-colored’, *küverci* ‘blue-gray’, *qabuqsin* ‘cinnamon’, *suru* ‘gray’, *qara* ‘black’, *boro* ‘gray’, *yazi* ‘brown’, *bula* ‘bunt’.<sup>62</sup> Thus, this might reflect a historical connection with the people having piebald horses. Györffy proposed a compromise combining the possible migration routes.

Senga, however, studying the Kangars in Constantine Porphyrogenitus’s *De administrando imperio*, emphasized that they are mentioned five times without the Greek *-oi* ending, which is normally applied in Greek to ethnonyms. Senga suspected that the word was an attribute meaning ‘noble, bold’ and not an ethnonym.<sup>63</sup> Senga also called attention to another difficulty. The Karluks conquered the territory of the Chu and Talas rivers in the middle of the 8th century and thus the power of the Karluks could have prevented the Pechenegs from

56 DAI, 171; Belke, Soustal 1995, 187.

57 Kül-Tegin, East 39; Tekin 1968, 269; Berta 2004, 162, note 1641.

58 BGA VI, 178.

59 Marquart, 1898, 5–6, 10.

60 Czeglédy, MÓT, 246–279.

61 Györffy 1990, 100.

62 Györffy 1990, 99; see Németh 1922; Ligeti 1986, 507–508.

63 Senga 1992, 506.

passing through Semirech'e. The use of the southern route seems then very improbable.<sup>64</sup> The earliest period of the history of the Pechenegs can be reconstructed as follows. The Pechenegs lived north of the Tarbagatay on the Upper Irtysh. The Uygurs or their north-eastern neighbours, the Kimäk-Kipchak tribal confederation, forced them to leave their lands between 754 and 821, and the Pechenegs wandered west, probably on the northern route through the southern part of the Western Siberian plain.

A Jayhānī tradition representing al-Marwazī, Gardīzī and al-Bakrī defined the lands of the Pechenegs at the beginning of the chapter: "North of them lies the land of Kipchaks (*Khiffāq*), in the southwest is the land of the Khazars (*Khazar*), in East is the land of the Oguz (*Ghuzzjyya*) and in the west is the land of the Slavs (*Ṣaqāliba*)."<sup>65</sup> This description refers to the Pecheneg settlement in the area of the River Ural. Unfortunately, the ethnic definition of the term *Ṣaqāliba*, the western neighbours, is difficult, because it is supposed to usually mean the Eastern European Slavs in the Muslim literature, but the context excludes this possibility and the term is instead used in an extended sense denoting the peoples living in the forest zone of Eastern Europe.<sup>66</sup> The Byzantine Emperor, Constantine Porphyrogenitus noted the same lands in the 37th chapter of *De administrando imperio* on the Pechenegs: "Originally, the Pechenegs had their dwelling on the river *Atil* and likewise on the river *Geich*, having common frontiers with the Khazars and the so-called Uzes."<sup>67</sup> The two rivers are the Turkic names of the Volga and Ural. Prior to 895, therefore, the headquarters of the Pechenegs were east of the Volga, and the Oguz attacked the Pechenegs and forced them to migrate westward circa 895. They settled in the land of the Magyars, known as *Etelköz*, on the northern shore of the Black Sea, which compelled the Magyars to occupy the Carpathian Basin.<sup>68</sup>

According to the Byzantine emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus one part of the Pechenegs remained in their homeland and did not wander westward: "At the time the Pechenegs were expelled from their country, some of them of their own will and personal decision stayed behind and united with the so-called Uzes and even to this day they live among them, and wear such distinguishing marks as separate them off and betray their origin and how it came about that they split off from their own folk: for their tunics are short, reaching to the knee, and their sleeves are cut off at the shoulders, whereby, you see, they

64 Senga 1992, 510.

65 Minorsky 1942, 33; Martinez 1982, 151; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 164, 221, 250.

66 Zimonyi 1990, 73–75; Nazmi 1998, 86.

67 DAI, 166, 167; Belke, Soustal 1995, 184.

68 Zimonyi 1998, 129–144; 1990, 158–175; Kristó 1996b, 191–203.

indicate that they have been cut off their own folk and those of their race.”<sup>69</sup> Ibn Faḍlān travelled through the land of the Pechenegs who stayed behind in 922; he met them between the land of the Oguz and Bashkirs in the area of Ural River and noted: “Then we arrived at the Pechenegs (*B.j.nāk*). These had encamped by a still lake like a sea. They were dark brown and powerful and they shaved their beards. They are poor in contrast to the Oguz ...”<sup>70</sup> The *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam* has two accounts of the Pechenegs; the eastern section is known as the Turkic Pechenegs and the western ones are the Khazar Pechenegs.<sup>71</sup> The Khazarian Pechenegs belonged to the Turkic Pechenegs earlier. This information was probably borrowed from the Balkhī tradition.<sup>72</sup> It is not clear from the details of the anonymous Persian author whether the account of the Turkic Pechenegs refers to their old lands before the westward migration circa 895 or to the group that remained in their old lands in the area of the river Ural until the compilation of the *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam* around the 980s.

Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī wrote about two groups of Pechenegs in the middle of the 11th century in his compendium on the Turkic languages: “Bajānak is a tribe of Turks who live in the vicinity of Rūm; it is a sub-tribe of the Oguz.”<sup>73</sup> He mentioned them again among the peoples living near Rūm, i.e. Byzantium, and as the 19th of the 22 Oguz tribes.<sup>74</sup> Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī’s data confirm the information of the above-mentioned authors: a group of the Pechenegs remained in their old lands and they preserved their own ethnic consciousness until the 11th century. For the interpretation of the Magyar passage, this means that the neighborhood of the Pechenegs in the region east of the river Volga can be dated either before 895, the westward wandering of the Pechenegs, or after 895, referring then to the group that stayed behind. Ibn Faḍlān passed the land of the Bashkirs in 922, which lay between the Pechenegs and the Volga Bulgars. The Pechenegs north of the Black Sea were the eastern neighbors of the Magyars living in the Carpathian Basin and they made an alliance twice and waged war against Byzantium in the 10th century.<sup>75</sup>

69 DAI, 168, 169; Belke, Soustal 1995, 186–187.

70 Frye 2005, 42; Togan 1939, Arabic text: a 17, German Translation 33, 144–147 comment; Canard 1958, 48; Kovalevskiy 1956, 130; Lewicki 1985, 45, 97.

71 Minorsky 1937, 101, 160; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 207–208, 215.

72 Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 215, note 204; see Komskó 1/2, 18, 60; Minorsky 1937, 160.

73 al-Kāshgharī I, 362.

74 al-Kāshgharī I, 82, 102.

75 On the history of Pechenegs see P. Golden, *Pečenegs: EI<sup>2</sup> VIII*, 289–290; Moravcsik, *BT I*, 87–90; Zahoder 1967, 70–76; Rásonyi 1970, 1–26; Pritsak 1975, 211–235; H. Göckenjan, *Pečenegs: LexMA VI*, 1845–1846.

### *Volga Bulgars*

The Muslim authors of the Jayhānī tradition called the Volga Bulgars *bulkār(iyya)*. The term *bulkāriyya* of Ibn Rusta and al-Bakrī clearly refers to an ethnonym. In general Gardīzī used the form *bulkār* in the same way as the Arab authors in his chapter on the Volga Bulgars. Even Ibn Rusta used the common name *bulkār* in his account of them and the form *bulkāriyya* appears only once.<sup>76</sup> The distinction has a special importance, because the ethnonym denoted on the one hand a political entity, i.e. a tribal confederation, and on the other one tribe of the same confederation, as the authors of the Jayhānī tradition noted that the Volga Bulgars called the *bulkār* consisted of three groups: *Baršūlā*, *Ask.l* and *Bulkār*.<sup>77</sup>

The form *bulkār* بلكار is to be found only in the Jayhānī tradition, the standard term in most Muslim sources being *bulghār* بلغار, which perfectly reflects the Turkic name *Bulgar*. According to Minorsky, al-Jayhānī recorded the Persian variant of the ethnonym in accordance with the new Persian orthography in which Arabic *kāf* was used for the sound *g*. He came to a similar conclusion in connection with the ethnonym *Burdās*.<sup>78</sup> It is also known that al-Jayhānī's mother tongue was Persian, and so when he wrote down the ethnonym, he used an oral source to which he applied the Persian spelling.

The Turkic-speaking tribes of the Volga Bulgar confederacy (*Bulghār*, *Äskäl*, *Baršūlā*~*Bersil*, *Suwār*~*Sabir*, *Baranjar*~*Balanjar*) migrated from the steppe belt to the Volga-Kama region, which is situated in the forest zone, and mixed with the local Finno-Ugric-speaking inhabitants. The date of the migration is debated, as no direct reference is made to it in the sources. According to the traditional view, the tribes of the Volga Bulgars migrated north c. 680 after the fall of Kuvrat's empire north of the Black Sea. However, our sources were aware that the elder son of Kuvrat remained in his homeland with his people and submitted to the Khazars, while the rest of the inhabitants moved to the west. More credible is the assumption of a later migration. The Arab-Khazar wars took place in the Northern Caucasus in the first half of the 8th century and some tribes of Bulgars were forced to evacuate their southern settlements and move to the Volga-Kama region. The Volga Bulgars gained in political prestige from the beginning of the 9th century, when trade began to flourish between the Caliphate and the Khazar Kaghanate as the Khazars collected commercial goods (fur, slaves, wax and honey) from their subjects living in the northern

76 BGA VII, 141<sub>18</sub>; Wiet 1955, 158–159; Kmoskó 1/1, 206.

77 BGA VII, 141<sub>11–12</sub>; Wiet 1955, 159; Kmoskó 1/1, 206; Zimonyi 1990, 132, 35–42, 45–49.

78 Minorsky 1942, 110; 1937, 462.

forest zone. A new wave of migration is taken into account at the end of the 9th century, which is corroborated by archaeological, numismatic and linguistic data. This may be interrelated with the westward movement of the Pechenegs around 895, which shattered the leading position of the Khazars in Eastern Europe. Reference was made to the Volga Bulgars by the Muslim writers from the beginning of the 10th century, when trade routes between the Muslim world and Eastern Europe shifted and the main route came from Transoxania, crossed the Kazakh steppe and the Volga-Kama region, and terminated in the north. The crisis of the Khazar Empire and new perspectives for trade prompted Almish, the second known ruler of the Volga Bulgars, to embrace Islam. The Caliph sent a delegation to him in 921–922. A member of the delegation, Ibn Faḍlān, reported on the journey in detail. The official conversion to Islam was a manifest act of hostility against the Jewish Kaghan of the Khazars; at the same time, it promoted the development of towns such as Bulghār and Suwār and the appearance of Volga Bulgar coinage. In 965, Svyatoslav, ruler of Kiev, attacked the Volga Bulgars and Khazars. The Khazar state was annihilated, but the Volga Bulgars picked up the pieces and developed a centre for commerce between the Caliphate and Eastern Europe. Although the coinage of the Volga Bulgars was suspended for two centuries from the end of the 10th century, trade flourished, as is attested by archaeological excavations and evidence provided by the eyewitness Arabic traveller, Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī in the first half of the 12th century.<sup>79</sup>

The territory of the Volga Bulgars in the 10th century can be fairly accurately determined on the basis of the archaeological topography and the data of the sources. Fahrutdinov ascertained that the residences of the Volga Bulgars were concentrated in an area delimited by the rivers Sesma and Bol'shoy Cheremshan Volga and the lower Kama. In addition, there were densely populated areas on the northern bank of the lower Kama and the area of the middle Sviyaga and the eastern tributaries of the middle Sura, as well as the area of the Volga knee at Samara, which was an important strategic point.<sup>80</sup> Ibn Faḍlān mentioned the following rivers: Chagan, Mocha, Samara, Kinel, Sok, and Kundurcha in the territory of the Bāshjird after having crossed the Pecheneg settlements on the river Ural.<sup>81</sup> After leaving behind the Bashkirs he continues:

79 On the history of Volga Bulgars see Shpilevskiy 1877; Smirnov 1951; Rudnicki, Hilczerówna, Kubiak, *Bulgar: sss* I, 190–191; Zahoder 1962, 117–229; Miquel 1975, 272–285; Golden 1992, 253–258; Fahrutdinov 1984; Ligeti 1986, 353–360, 366–370; I. Hrbek, *Bulghār: EI<sup>2</sup>* I, 1304–1308; Zimonyi 1990; I. Zimonyi, *Wolgabulgaren: LexMa* IX, 315–317; Huzin 1997.

80 Fahrutdinov 1975, 48–49.

81 Togan 1939, 34.



“Then we left the land of the Bashkirs and crossed the river Jaramsān, then the river Uran, then the river Uram, the river Bāynākh, then the river Watīgh, then Niyāsnaḥ, then Jawshīr.<sup>82</sup> Between each of the rivers we have mentioned, the distance is a journey of two, three, or four days, more or less.”<sup>83</sup> Consequently, the Bashkirs lived on the banks of the rivers north of the Ural River which flow into the Volga-knee at Samara, while the settlements of the Volga Bulgars were in the valley of the Cheremshan River in 922.

### Äskäl

The tribal name *ʿsk.l* اسكل is also mentioned among the three groups of the Volga Bulgars. In Hungarian chapter al-Bakrī noted the original as *ʿshk.l* اشكل. The tribal list of the Volga Bulgars contains different variants: Ibn Rusta *ʿsgh.l* اسغل, Ḥudūd: *ʿ shk.l*.<sup>84</sup> The form *ʿsgh.l* of Ibn Rusta can be explained from a Persian version of the designation. Ibn Rusta read the form *ʿsk.l* according to the Persian orthography and thus interpreted the letter *k* of the Arabic script as Persian *g*. However, the Persian *g* sound can be recorded in two ways in Arabic script: *k* in Persian or *gh* in Arabic. The same is attested in the ethnonym *Bulgar*, which has a Persian form *bulkā* and an Arabic form *bulghār*. The question, however, is whether the reading of the tribal name *ʿsk.l* reflects Turkic *k* or *g*. In this respect, Ibn Faḍlān, being an Arab, can provide the key to the dilemma. He mentioned the form *ʿsk.l* twice, which means that the original Turkic form had *k*. As for the vowels of the ethnonym, the Byzantine and Chinese data reflect a Turkic *Äskäl*, which was rendered *Askal* in the Arabic text.<sup>85</sup>

Ibn Faḍlān mentioned this tribe twice: “The king moved from the water they call Khalja to a river called Jāwshīr and stayed there for two months. He then wanted to leave, and sent to a people called Suwar (Swaz), instructing them to depart with him. They refused and split into two factions. One faction was with his son-in-law, who had proclaimed himself king over them, whose name was Wiyriḡh. The king sent [a message] to them saying: ‘God, may the might and majesty be His, has bestowed upon me the blessings of Islam and the power of the Commander of the Faithful. I am his servant, and his nation (umma) has invested me with authority [over its affairs]. Whoever opposes me, him shall I meet with the sword.’ The other faction was with a king (malik) of a tribe, who was known as King (malik) Askal, and who owed allegiance to the king of

82 Jermśān = Bol’shoy Cheremshan; Ūrn = Ūrān; Ūrm = Urm ~ Ūrām; Bābnāj = Mayna; Wtīgh = Utkā; Nbāsnh = Niyasla; the river Jawshīn is hardly determinable: Czeglédy, MÓT, 30–31.

83 Frye 2005, 43; Togan 1939, 37–38.

84 BGA VII, 141<sub>11</sub>; cf. Zimonyi 1990, 132.

85 Moravcsik BT II, 75; Czeglédy, MÓT, 317–318; Ligeti 1986, 329–331; Zimonyi 1990, 48–49.

Şaqāliba, although he had not joined [the community] of Islam. When he sent his letter to them, they were awed by him, and all of them journeyed with him to the river Jāwshīr ...”<sup>86</sup>

“The son of the king of Şaqāliba is held as a hostage at the court of the king of the Khazars. The king of the Khazars had learned of the beauty of the daughter of the king of the Şaqāliba, and sent [an emissary] asking for her hand in marriage. The king of the Şaqāliba protested and refused his request. Whereupon the king of the Khazars sent troops and siezed her by force, although he was a Jew and she was a Muslim, and she died at his court. He then sent an emissary asking for the hand of another of his daughters. As soon as the king of Şaqāliba learned of this, he acted without delay and married her off to the king of the Askal, who was subject to him, out of fear that the King of the Khazars might seize her by force as he had done with her sister.”<sup>87</sup>

In both cases, it is explicit that the tribe *Āskāl* recognized the rule of Volga Bulgar king called *Almīsh*. The river names recorded by Ibn Faḍlān are exactly identifiable with the modern geographical designations, and if they can be connected with the data of al-Jayhānī, the conclusion may be drawn that the *Āskāl* tribe nomadized along the river Cheremshan, and they were instructed to protect the southern and southeastern borders of the Volga-Bulgar tribal confederation.

The name *Āskāl* was associated with the Hungarian designation *Székely*, whose medieval Latin form was *Sicul*, a people of Transylvania in the medieval Hungarian kingdom. Three arguments have been put forward to prove the connection between the two ethnic units: First, that the Hungarian name *Székely* is a borrowing of the Turkic *Āskāl*; second, the identity of taxation in both communities; third, the historical contact is reflected in the neighborhood mentioned in the text of al-Jayhānī, which is corroborated by the existence of other Volga Bulgar tribal names in the Hungarian tradition: *Bular* (<*Bulgar*) in medieval chronicles and *Bercel* (< *Bärsil*) as place names in Hungary.<sup>88</sup>

As for the linguistic point of view, because the Turkic form of the Volga Bulgar tribal name can be reconstructed as *Āskāl*, the attempt to read the designation *Esegel*, *Esekel* in Arabic script is possible but unacceptable. According to Kristó Turkic *Āskāl* was borrowed and the Hungarian form *Sicul* (*Sikül*)

86 Frye 2005, 59–60; Togan 1939, 74–76; Kovalevskiy 1956, 139; Canard 1958, 68–69; Lewicki 1985, 63–64, 107.

87 Frye 2005, 62; Togan 1939, 80–81; Kovalevskiy 1956, 141; Canard 1958, 71–72; Lewicki 1985, 66, 108–109.

88 Györfly 1990a, 65–70; Kordé 1991; 2001, 167–168.

can be explained by internal changes in the Hungarian language.<sup>89</sup> Benkő and Sinkovics rejected the idea, stating the change *Āskäl* > *Szikül* > *Székely* is not compatible with the history of the Hungarian language.<sup>90</sup>

Györffy emphasized the similarity of the tribute of horses among the Székely and the Volga Bulgars recorded in the Jayhānī tradition.<sup>91</sup> Ibn Rusta recorded it: “They contribute to their king riding animals (*dābba*) and other things. Whenever one of them [a man] marries, the king takes a riding animal (*dābba*) each time.” Gardīzī’s text differs in some details: “If [their] king [so] desires, they give him a pony (*sotūr*) and whenever a man takes a woman [in marriage] the king takes a horse (*asp*) from each one.”<sup>92</sup> Ibn Faḍlān described the taxes of the Volga Bulgar state in several places: “Most of what they eat is millet and horsemeat, although wheat and barley are plentiful. Everyone who grows something takes it for himself, the king having no claim to it. However, they render to him every year a sable skin from each household. When the king orders a raiding party to make a foray against a country, and booty is taken, he along with them is due a share. It is incumbent on anyone who holds a wedding feast, or invites a guest to a banquet, that the king receives a portion commensurate with the size of the feast, as well as a bowl (*sākhrakh*) of honey drink, and some bad wheat.”<sup>93</sup>

“There is imposed on the king of Ṣaqāliba a tribute that he pays to the king of the Khazars, namely a sable skin for each household in his kingdom. When a ship from the country of the Khazars arrives in the country the Ṣaqāliba, then the king rides out, takes stock of what is on board, and takes a tenth of the entire merchandise. When the Rūs, or the member of some other races, come with slaves, the king has the right to choose for himself one out of every ten heads.”<sup>94</sup>

According to Ibn Faḍlān, the income of the Volga Bulgar king consisted of the tax of sable skin, a definite part of any booty, taxes on weddings and banquets, and tithe levied on trade. The Jayhānī tradition also recorded a tithe imposed on the goods of the merchants.<sup>95</sup> The difference in taxation

89 Kristó 1996a, 14–15.

90 Sinkovics 2001, 137–145; Benkő 2002, 257–265.

91 Györffy 1996a, 66–69.

92 Zimonyi 1990, 141; Martinez 1982, 158; Göckenjan Zimonyi 2001, 62, 170.

93 Frye 2005, 54; Togan 1939, 60–61; Kovalevskiy 1956, 136; Canard 1958, 62; Lewicki 1985, 56–57, 104.

94 Frye 2005, 61–62; Togan 1939, 80; Kovalevskiy 1956, 140–141; Canard 1958, 71; Lewicki 1985, 66, 108.

95 Zimonyi 1990, 143–144; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 62, 170.

between the data of al-Jayhānī, i.e. riding animals, and that of Ibn Faḍlān, i.e. sable skins, Györfly explained by the fact that the report of Ibn Faḍlān referred to the northern Volga-Bulgar tribes, while for al-Jayhānī the taxation of the southern tribes in the vicinity of the steppe nomadic tribe *Āskāl* served as a source of information.<sup>96</sup> Another solution is possible. Ibn Faḍlān's report was known from the different head words of Yāqūt's geographical dictionary before the discovery of the manuscript of Mashhad containing a coherent text. Yāqūt copied under Bulghār: "They pay him (annually) an oxhide from each household".<sup>97</sup> The Mashhad manuscript has *sammūr* 'sable'. The ox seems to be a typical scribal error, which is obvious from the similarity of the writing of the two words: *sammūr* 'sable' and *ثور* *thawr* 'ox'. Since al-Jayhānī's native language was Persian, he may have made notes in his mother tongue. The Persian words *sammūr* 'sable' and *ستور* *sutūr* 'quadruped beast of burden, horse, mule, donkey' can easily be confused. Gardīzī wrote *sutūr*, whose Arabic equivalent is *dābba*, which occurs in the text of Ibn Rusta.<sup>98</sup> Since al-Jayhānī may have met Ibn Faḍlān on his return, the *Wazīr* might have confused the two words in his notes in Persian, a confusion later translated into Arabic, but the original information given by Ibn Faḍlān was "sable". In any case, the unprovable *Āskāl*>*Székeley* etymology and the problems of horse tribute do not seem to constitute a solid connection between the two ethnic groups.

### *First Border*

The interpretation of the term 'first border' (أول حدّ *awwalu ḥaddin*) is controversial. The passage is an explicit geographical definition of the Magyar lands, which is a general characteristic of the descriptions of the peoples of Eastern Europe in the Jayhānī tradition. The geographical definition is followed by a section dealing with the political situation, then there is a return to the geographic data in the works of Ibn Rusta, Gardīzī and al-Bakrī, while such an introductory geographical part is not available in the passages of al-Marwazī and his followers. This in itself means that the interpretation of the text may involve numerous contradictions.

Czeglédy has already pointed out that *ḥadd* 'border' was applied in Muslim geographical literature in the opposed pair 'first border' *awwalu ḥaddin*—'last border' *ākhiru ḥaddin*, and they determined the two extreme limits of a country.<sup>99</sup> The first border from the perspective of the author may refer to the border

96 Györfly 1990a, 66–67.

97 Wüstenfeld 1866, I, 727; Togan, 1939, 27, note q.

98 Zimonyi 1990, 142.

99 Czeglédy enumerated examples of different authors: MÓT, 23–24.

lying nearer him. Since al-Jayhānī was an inhabitant of Bukhara, the term thus may mean the eastern border of the Magyars. There was another interpretation in earlier Hungarian historiography that is represented by Pauler, who translated the term *ḥadd* as a region, and thus the term would point to one of several areas of Magyar settlement. Pauler presupposed namely that ‘first region’ reflects chronologic order and would refer to the former lands of the Magyars.<sup>100</sup> Czeglédy rejected such a possibility for linguistic reasons, and one might add that the chronological framework of al-Jayhānī’s text, as well as the character of the description, tell against the theory of an earlier homeland.<sup>101</sup> Czeglédy dated the description of the Magyars in general to the 870s, except that the part associated with the construction of Sarkel was put earlier, circa the 830s.<sup>102</sup> Al-Jayhānī was interested in the commercial and political situation of the peoples of Eastern Europe and he avoided writing down their historical traditions.

According to the literal interpretation of the text, the first, i.e. eastern border of the Magyars, would lie between the Volga Bulgars and the Pechenegs east of the Volga, while Magyars lived in the steppes north of the Black Sea. Minorsky sought to solve this contradiction by proposing an unusual solution, the existence of an eastern corridor of Magyars reaching as far as the territory east of the Volga.<sup>103</sup> Czeglédy revealed that the geographical notion is controversial in the work of al-Jayhānī, as the area between the Volga Bulgars and Pechenegs east of the Volga was separated by the peoples living along the Volga, i.e. the Khazars, Burtas and Volga Bulgars from the territory north of the Black Sea. For this reason, the concept of a Magyar *Urheimat* (ancient homeland) on the Volga-Kama prior to the 9th century cannot be based on the term *awwalu ḥaddin* ‘first border’ of the Magyars. At the same time, Czeglédy convincingly demonstrated that al-Jayhānī actually had information about the Magyar group east of the Volga, and that the *Wazīr* either connected the eastern group with the Magyars in Etelköz, i.e. north of the Black Sea, or else he so cut the text that it became incomprehensible.<sup>104</sup>

Várady, analyzing Constantine Porphyrogenitus’ Magyar chapter, concluded that in the 9th century until 875 the Magyars lived west of the Crimea between the Prut and the Dnieper. Then the Khazars arrayed them in Levedia, on the eastern frontier of Khazar Empire, against the Pechenegs. This might be the

100 Pauler, 1900, 243–244.

101 Czeglédy, *MÓT*, 21–22.

102 Czeglédy, *MÓT*, 118.

103 Minorsky 1939, 319; see Kristó 1996, 170.

104 Czeglédy, *MÓT*, 24–25.

region between the Volga and Ural rivers, presumably on the rivers Great and Small Uz. The Magyar tribal confederation consisting of seven tribes headed by the Nyék tribe, and their chief, or voyvoda, was called Levedi. The Kangar-Pechenegs attacked the Magyars after having spent three years there. As a result of the attack of the Kangars, a smaller group escaped east along the shore of the Caspian Sea to Khurāsān, while the majority moved to Etelköz, the area between the Prut and Dnieper.<sup>105</sup>

Marquart suggested that the Muslim authors related the nomadic Magyars located north of the Black Sea with the Bashkirs located between the Pechenegs and Volga Bulgars on the basis of the similarity of the two ethnonyms (*majghir* ~ *bajghird/bāshghird/basjirt*). The father of this identification must have been Muslim b. Abū Muslim al-Jarmī in the Muslim geographical literature.<sup>106</sup> Apart from Marquart's theory identifying al-Jayhānī's source as the work of al-Jarmī, Czeglédy preferred this assumption.<sup>107</sup> According to this point of view, the Magyars in Etelköz were identified with Bashkirs east of the Volga.

The Magyar-Bashkir identification can be attested in several Muslim sources. *Bashkir* appeared in the early Muslim literature as the name of a people living east of the Volga, of the Magyars in the Carpathian Basin, and of two peoples under the same name, one in the east and the other in the west.

Gardīzī recorded a legend about the origin of the Kirgiz. Their forefather lived in Eastern Europe, but was compelled to escape. He first moved to the court of the Khazars, then he went to a great man called *Basjirt*, who was a distinguished personality among the Khazars and took his residence between the Khazars and the Kimāk. It is a typical use of *heros eponymos*, i.e. a personal name representing an ethnonym. The story is to be found in that part of the work of Gardīzī which must have been copied from the book of Ibn al-Muqaffa', composed at the end of the 8th century.<sup>108</sup> Around the middle of the 9th century the interpreter Sallām traveled to the wall attributed to Alexander the Great. The longer version of the description of the trip represented in e.g. al-Idrīsī's text contains a later and more detailed variant, according to which Sallām, having crossed the Caucasus beyond the land of the Khazars, met a people called *Basjirt*.<sup>109</sup> Ibn Faḍlān met the *Bāshghird* on the Samara-knee of

105 Varady 1989, 27. Similar relocation in the middle of the 9th century: Kristó, Makk 2001, 46.

106 Marquart 1903, 515.

107 Czeglédy, MÓT, 25. Marquart's thesis was rejected cf. Kmoskó 1/1, 36–37; Minorsky 1937, 424; Czeglédy 1945, 40.

108 Martínez 1982, 125; HKÍF, 25–26; Czeglédy, MÓT, 105–112.

109 Zimonyi 1990, 96; HKÍF, 21–23; Donzel, Schmidt 2009, 135 note 72, 191–192.

the Volga between the rivers Kondorcha-Suk and Cheremshan in 922.<sup>110</sup> In the 11th century Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, who is regarded as the first Turkologist, described the language of the *bashghirt* as pure Turkic.<sup>111</sup>

The current data suggest that Bashkirs lived east of the Volga in the 9th century. Ibn Faḍlān listed them among the Turkic peoples in 922 and Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī proved that they spoke Turkic in the 11th century.

Al-Masʿūdī recorded a Magyar-Pecheneg raid against Byzantium in 934. The Magyars were referred to with dual names, one of them *bajghird*. It is used for the Magyars in the Carpathian Basin.<sup>112</sup> Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī stayed in the Hungarian Kingdom between 1150 and 1153, which he called *Unkuriyya* and the people there *Bāshghird*.<sup>113</sup>

The inventor of the Bashkir-Magyar identification was al-Balkhī, which was taken over by his followers. The people *Basjirt* lived in two areas: one is located next to the Oguz behind the Volga Bulgars, the other in the neighborhood of the Pechenegs and Byzantium.<sup>114</sup> The conception of al-Balkhī whereby the Magyars in the Carpathian Basin and the Bashkirs east of the Volga were identical might have originated from the information of al-Jayhānī, who knew al-Balkhī personally, and the two must have read each other's books. Al-Balkhī recorded the identification in his geographic work, including maps and comments thereto,<sup>115</sup> and he certainly interpreted the chapter on the *majgh/fir* of al-Jayhānī as having two residences. He also improved the names of the people Basjirt, and he changed their new neighbours to adapt the information to new historical circumstances. Ultimately, al-Balkhī may have identified the Turkic-speaking people called *Basjirt* with the *m/bajghir* form of the Magyar etnonym.

Yāqūt wrote a headword *bāshghird* in his geographical dictionary. He noted that this name has two other forms: *bāshjird* and *bāshqird*. It is a country located between Bulgaria and Constantinople. The passage consist of quotations from three different sources. First Yāqūt copied the description from the report of Ibn Faḍlān. Then he wrote about the *Bāshghird*, some of whom he met in Aleppo. He learned from them that they have another name, i.e. *Hunkar*. Finally he quoted the relevant part on the distances from the work

110 Frye 2005, 42–43; Togan 1939, 35–37; Kovalevskiy 1956, 130–131; Canard 1958, 49–50; Lewicki 1985, 45–46, 97–98; HKÍF, 70–71.

111 Ligeti, 1986, 377; Dankoff-Kelly 1982, 1, 82–83.

112 МЕН, 101; Kmoskó 1/2, 182–183; Golden 1975, 22–23, 34–35; Rotter 1978, 103.

113 Dabler 1953, 27; Bolsakov, Mongajt 1985, 56.

114 BGA 1, 225; II<sup>2</sup>, 396; Kmoskó 1/2, 31, 79–80; Czeglédy, MÓT, 16–17; HKÍF, 50.

115 Zimonyi 1990, 23–24.

of al-Iṣṭakhri, representing the Balkhī tradition.<sup>116</sup> Yāqūt's combination of the various data is a perfect analogy for the formation of the Bashkir-Magyar identification. Yāqūt may have known about the two countries named *Bāshghird* from al-Iṣṭakhri, but he did not record it because it was rather vague for him, so he localized their country somewhere in the vicinity of Constantinople and the Bulgars (Danube Bulgars). The ethnonym was similar to that of Ibn Faḍlān's report, which he quoted in detail, which referred to people living east of the Volga. Finally he combined these with oral information about Hungary he had gathered from Muslims he met personally. Yāqūt put together a construction from the report of Ibn Faḍlān from 922 concerning the Bashkirs east of the Volga, the report of the Hungarian Muslims referring to Hungary from the beginning of the 13th century, and some fragment from the Balkhī tradition which can be connected with the Hungarians, both in the east and in the west. These data are separately authentic, but the combination based on the similarity of ethnonyms is a prototype of medieval Muslim historiography.

The data leave no doubt that the Muslim sources called the Magyars in the Carpathian Basin *Bashkirs*. According to Róna-Tas the Volga Bulgars may have designated as Bashkirs the Magyars in the Carpathian Basin, as this is the term used by Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī, who travelled to Hungary from the country of the Volga Bulgars in the middle of the 12th century.<sup>117</sup>

Kmoskó assumed that al-Jayhānī recorded three lands of the Hungarians: the settlements of a fragment of the Hungarians east of the Volga Bulgars, the quarters north of the Black Sea prior to 895, and the Carpathian Basin after the conquest in 895. The first and third were recorded by al-Jayhānī in the 10th century.<sup>118</sup>

In spite of the vagueness of the interpretation of the term 'first border', the passage may refer to a Magyar group east of the Volga. The crucial point of the interpretation is whether this Magyar community could have been the heirs of those who presumably remained in the original Magyar homeland (*Urheimat*) on the Volga-Kama region or whether they migrated to this territory in the 9th century after seceding from the majority and migrating from the steppe belt.

The Hungarian language evolved circa 1000–500 BC in the area between the Middle Volga and Lower Ob. The Magyars appeared as a tribal confederacy only in the 9th century north of the Black Sea. There is one and a half to two millennia difference between these data. Plus, all the relevant information on the

116 Wüstenfeld 1866 I, 468–470; Yāqūt I, 322–323; HKÍF 69–73.

117 Róna-Tas 1996, 225–226; 1999, 291–293.

118 Kmoskó 1/1, 202, 207, note 819.



Magyar minority east of the Volga cannot be dated prior to the second half of the 9th century. The archaeological monuments of the 'eastern' Magyars consist of the cemetery excavated in Bolshie Tigani in the Volga-Kama region.<sup>119</sup> The data of the Balkhī tradition are from the 10th century, and the Hungarian Dominican friar Julianus meet Magyars in the Volga region in 1235. This Magyar community ceased to exist due to the Mongol invasion. The Magyar community of the Volga region could have been the part of the Magyar tribal confederation in the 7th–9th centuries and seceded in the 9th century. This is corroborated by the description of Julianus, who recorded that the eastern Magyars were aware that they derived from the Magyars, and as Julianus could understand their speech, this means they seceded from the majority not a thousand years before but a few centuries.<sup>120</sup> The ancestors of the eastern Magyar community may have migrated north in 895 when the majority moved to the Carpathian Basin. However, this cannot be decided due to lack of information.

The picture is further complicated, as the Turkic-speaking Bashkirs migrated to the Volga region in the 10th–11th centuries and their relationship with the eastern Hungarians is obscure. Yāqūt and Plano Carpini seem to prove that the idea of the identity of the eastern Magyars and the Turkic-speaking Bashkirs in the Muslim and Latin sources of the 13th century was based on the proximity of their lands.

In the end, the Bashkir-Magyar identity can be dated to the period of the 10th–13th centuries. The information preserved in the first sentence of the Jayhānī tradition is valid in the period after 895 regardless of the question of the relation between the eastern Hungarians and Turkic-speaking Bashkirs.<sup>121</sup>

The geographical representation of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* is not dependent on the Jayhānī tradition, for it has its own system in which the descriptions of the various neighboring peoples were arranged according to the directions. The easternmost hill of the Magyars can be identified with the Carpathians. The southern adjoining *W.n.nd.r* is the name of the Danube Bulgars, who are mentioned separately in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* and as a part of the Magyar chapter by Gardīzī. The Rūs in the west and north could be the political entity of the Rūs with their center on Old Ladoga. The later authors Ibn Ḥayyān<sup>122</sup>

119 Fodor 1977, 109–114.

120 Szűcs 1992, 136–140; Ligeti 1986, 378–379.

121 Minorsky 1937, 318–320; Czeglédy, MÓT, 24–25; Zimonyi 1990, 149–153.

122 “Those who know their affairs mentioned that their country lies in the far East. The Pechenegs live east of them and they are their neighbors. The land of Rome lies south of them. The town of Constantinople lies deviating a little from the direction to the

and al-Bakrī<sup>123</sup> gave the neighbors of the Magyars in the Carpathian Basin: the ethnonym *al-Bulqarīn*, used for the Danube Bulgars, and the Pechenegs were mentioned as their eastern neighbors, and they gave further information on their western neighbours.

### 3 The Magyars as Turks

Ibn Rusta: The Magyars are a Turkic people.

Gardīzī: These Magyars are a Turkic people.

*Ḥudūd al-‘ālam*: And all these whom we have mentioned are the different categories of Turks (existing in the) world. Now we shall mention all the lands of Islam, and then the rest of the lands of the infidels, lying in the western parts.

Abū’l-Fidā’: They are a Turkic people.

al-Marwazī: The Magyars are a Turkic people.

‘Awfī: The *M.ḥr.f.h* are a Turkic people.

Shukrallāh: The seventh tribe of the Turks is called *M.ḥr.q.h*.

Shūkrallāh: The seventh people are called *M.ḥr.q.h*. They are of the Turks.

Muḥammad Kātib: The seventh tribe are of the Turks, and they are known by the name *M.ḥr.q.h*.

Ḥājī Khalīfa: One (of them) is the *M.ḥr.q.h*. too.

Ibn Rusta used the word *jins*, ‘kind; race; nation’ and al-Marwazī *qawm*, ‘tribe, nation.’<sup>124</sup> ‘Awfī and Shukrallāh copied the same term in their Persian texts, while the Turkish translation of the latter contains the word *qabile* ‘tribe,’ of Arabic origin. In connection with the peoples of the Turks, the *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam* used the plural form of Arabic *naw’* ‘kind, sort, type,’ a synonym of *jins*.

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east. The town of Murāwa and the rest of the Slavic countries lie north of them. The Saxons and the Franks are west of them.” Zimonyi 2004, 29; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 231.

123 “The border of their country is the country of Buwayra and the country of Būyaşlāw in the west; north of them are the Rūs; east of them are the Pechenegs and uninhabited deserts. These are between the country of the Pechenegs and the country of Bulgars (al-Bulqarīn) belonging to the Slavs. To the South are some parts of the country of the Bulgars and a strip of uninhabited deserts.” Zimonyi 2004, 24–25; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 230–232.

124 A.J. Wensick, *Ḳawm*: EI II, 892.

Gardīzī's text requires further study in several places. Kmoskó translated the relevant sentence: این محفريان عيسى اند از ترکاران as "These Magyars are believers in Jesus and sot," adding that *Tarkārān* is a pun on *Turkān*, and that Gardīzī, writing circa 1050, was aware that the Magyars had converted to Christianity once they lived in the Carpathian Basin. The meaning of the original sentence was consciously changed to mockingly read *ʿīsī and āz Tarkārān* 'Jesus believers among the wet-makers,' i.e. sot, drunkards.<sup>125</sup> Kmoskó brought an analogy from the work of Gardīzī: the ethnonym Bulgar *bulkār* is punned as *badkārān* 'criminals'.<sup>126</sup> Ḥabībī reconstructed *ʿīs* in his edition, meaning 'camel caravan,' and Nyitrai translated it thus: "These Magyars have camel caravans among the Turks," but this sentence is grammatically obscure.<sup>127</sup> Nyitrai criticized Kmoskó's translation on the ground that the Persian name for Christians is *ʿīsawī*; however, Steingass' Persian dictionary includes both words with a similar meaning: *ʿīsī* 'Belonging to Jesus, Christian' and *ʿīsawī* 'Of the religion of Jesus, a Christian'.<sup>128</sup> Gardīzī's pun was based on the original *jins*, reflected in the work of Ibn Rusta, and Martinez reconstructed it accordingly. The word *Tarkārān* occurs in both manuscripts of Gardīzī, and Kmoskó's interpretation as 'drunkards' is an ingenious idea, but one needing further corroboration.

The designation of the Magyars is *m.jf:r* in the Jayhānī tradition. The Hungarians were mentioned under different ethnonyms in Muslim sources, among them "Turk,"<sup>129</sup> which also occurred in connection with the Magyars in Greek and Latin sources.<sup>130</sup> In the Muslim geographical literature the name *Turk* was applied to the Magyars in two different ways. On the one hand, it was used as an ethnic name for the Hungarian tribal confederation, and on the other, the Hungarian people, under various ethnic names, were regarded as belonging to the Turkic peoples.<sup>131</sup>

125 Kmoskó, MS, IV, 215.

126 Kmoskó, 1927, 17, 20.

127 Ḥabībī 1963, 273, note 16; Nyitrai 1996, 72.

128 Steingass 1977, 875.

129 This form of the name is used in the Arabic and Persian sources, which may be explained by Turkic *Türk*.

130 In general see Róna-Tas 1999, 275–282; The ethnonyms for the Magyars and Hungarians in the Muslim sources: Lewicki 1978, 35–55; Elter 1997, 99–103; Nyitrai 1997, 105–110.

131 Róna-Tas called attention to the difference between the two interpretations in the Muslim sources: "1. Quellen, in denen Türk als Sammelbegriff verwendet wird, 2. Quellen, die mit Türk nur die Ungarn bezeichnen (arabohispanische Quellen)" Róna-Tas 1988, 291, note 21.

### *Turk Meaning Magyar*

First, let us consider the data concerning *Turk* as an ethnic name of the Magyars:

1. Ibn Ḥayyān recorded a barbarian raid against northern Andalus in 942 in his *Muqtabis*. The name of the furious people was *Turk*.<sup>132</sup> The campaign against Spain by the Magyars was part of their incursions into the west in the first half of the 10th century.

2. Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'qūb, the Jewish merchant or diplomat from Andalus who visited Prague, Cracow, and other cities of that are in the 60s of the 10th century,<sup>133</sup> noted: "As for the country of Būyaṣlāw (Boleslaw),<sup>134</sup> its extension from F.raghah (Prague) to Karakwa (Cracow) is equal to three weeks of travel.<sup>135</sup> On its length, it is limited by the country of the Turks. The city of F.raghah is built of stones and limestone. It is the richest place in goods. Russian and Slavs come there from Karakwa with goods. Moslems, Jews,<sup>136</sup> and Turks come there from the country of the Turks and bring goods and trade balances."<sup>137</sup>

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132 The author wrote about Hungary: "Those who know their affairs mentioned that their country lies in the far East. The Pechenegs live east of them and they are their neighbors. The land of Rome lies south of them. The town of Constantinople lies deviating a little from the direction of the east. The town of Murāwa and the rest of the Slavic countries lie north of them. The Saxons and the Franks are west of them. They covered a long distance to the land of Andalusia. In the desert ... (blank space) ... the kings from them. Their way during their march crossed Lombardy, which borders them. There is a distance of eight days between them and it (Lombardia). Their dwelling places are on the Danube river and they are nomads as the Arabs without towns and houses living in felt tents in scattered halting-places." Ibn Ḥayyān, *Al-Muqtabas* v, 482. On the Magyar raid against Spain see Czeglédý 1979, 273–278; 1981, 419–423; Elter 1981, 413–419.

133 Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'qūb: Krachkovskiy 1957, 190–192, 275; Miquel 1973, xxxii; 1975, 316–319; Brockelmann Suppl. I, 410; Canard 1962, 503–508; Miquel 1966, 1048–1064; A. Miquel, Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'qūb: *EI*<sup>2</sup> III, 991.

134 Boleslaw I. (929–967), a Bohemian duke, *LexMA* II, 357–358.

135 Until 999 Cracow belonged to the Duchy of Bohemia.

136 The relations between the Jews and the pagan Hungarians are attested in the letter of Hasday ibn Shaprut, who wanted to send a letter to the king of the Khazars, Joseph. Two Jewish merchants, Saul and Joseph, gave the letter to the 'King of the mountains' (probably the Bohemian Duke Boleslaw or the Croatian ruler). He handed over the letter to the Jews living in the country of Hungarin, i.e. the Magyars, and they took it to the Rūs and then to the Volga Bulgars. They then brought the letter to the hand of the king of the Khazars. (See Kohn 1881, 18; Spitzer *Komoróczy* 2003, 84.)

137 Mishin 1996, 185–186; Arabic texts: Kunik, Rozen 1878, 34–35; Kowalski 1946, 2–3; Leeuwen, Ferre 1992, 332.

Both authors, Ibn Ḥayyān and Ibrāhīm ibn Yaʿqūb, were natives of Andalus and the ethnonym Turk might reflect the name of the Magyars used in the Caliphate of Córdoba.

3. Hārūn ibn Yaḥyā was a prisoner of war in Constantinople at the turn of the 9th and 10th centuries.<sup>138</sup> He described the palace of the Byzantine emperor and mentioned the three iron gates, which were guarded by Christianized blacks, Khazars and Turks, and the ten thousand bodyguards (*ghulām*) from the Khazars and Turks during the procession of the emperor.<sup>139</sup>

138 Miquel 1973, xxii; Ostrogorsky 1932, 251–257; Vasiliev 1932, 149–163; Izeddin 1941–1946, 41–62; Grégoire 1932, 666–673; M. Izeddin, Hārūn b. Yaḥyā: EI<sup>2</sup> III, 232.

139 “The Imperial Palace has a wall which encircles the whole Palace, one parasang in circumference; its western portion reaches the sea. (The wall) has three iron gates; one of them called the Gate of Bidrun (Baydarūn = Hippodrome), the second the Gate of al-Mankanā, and the third the Sea Gate. As to the Gate of Bidrun (Hippodrome), one enters a vestibule a hundred paces long and fifty paces wide. On both sides of the vestibule there are seats covered with carpets of brocade, mattresses and pillows. There are black men, Christians, holding in their hands shields covered with gold and spears adorned with gold. As to the Gate of Mankanā one enters a vestibule two hundred paces long and fifty paces wide which is covered with marble. On both sides of the vestibule there are seats, upon which are Khazars holding bows in their hands. In the vestibule there are four prisons: one for the Muslims, the second for the people of Tarsus, the third for common people, and the fourth that of the commander of the guard. As to the Sea Gate, one enters a vestibule three hundred paces long and fifty paces wide which is covered with red bricks. In the vestibule to the left and right, there are seats adorned with carpets; upon them are a group of Turks holding bows and shields in their hands.” (Vasiliev 1932, 155–156; Marquart, 1903, 215–216; BGA VII, 120–121; Kmoskó I/1, 185.)

“The Emperor commands that on his way from the Gate of the Palace to the Church for the common people, which is in the middle of the city, be spread mats and upon them there be strewn aromatic plants and green foliage, and that on the right and left of his passage the walls be adorned with brocade. Then he is preceded by 10,000 elders wearing clothes of red brocade; their hair reaches their shoulders, and they wear no upper-cloak. Then behind them come 10,000 young men wearing clothes of white brocade. All go on foot. Then come 10,000 boys wearing clothes of green brocade. Then come 10,000 servants wearing clothes of brocade of the color of the sky; in their hands they hold axes covered with gold. Behind them follow 5,000 chosen eunuchs wearing white Khurāsānian clothes of half silk; in their hands they hold golden crosses. Then after them come 10,000 Turkish and Khurāsānian pages wearing striped breastplates; in their hands they hold spears and shields wholly covered with gold. Then come a hundred most dignified patricians wearing clothes of colored brocade; in their hands they have gold censers perfumed with aloes. Then come twelve chief patricians wearing clothes woven with gold; each of them holds a golden rod. Then come a hundred pages wearing clothes trimmed with borders and adorned with pearls; they carry a golden case in which is the Imperial robe

During the 10th century the ethnic designation *Τούρκοι* was given to the Magyars by the Byzantine authors, among them the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, whose account on the Magyars called Turks is among the most important sources of our knowledge of early Hungarian history.<sup>140</sup> Philotheos, the author of a handbook on the protocol of the Byzantine court in 899, noted that the foreign officers of the bodyguard, such as Turks, Khazars and others, 54 in number, are invited to a banquet.<sup>141</sup> It is probable based on the parallel passage that the name Turk referred to the Magyars.

However, Marquart identified the Turks in the report of Hārūn ibn Yaḥyā as Transoxanian Turks and not Magyars, stating that the Turks were from Farghana, who were often mentioned together with the Khazars in the book *De ceremoniis* of the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, and they also played an important role in the court of the caliph in Baghdad. Marquart also acknowledged that the designation *Τούρκοι* occurring with the Khazars and the inhabitants of Farghana clearly referred to the Magyars.<sup>142</sup> The ethnic affiliation of the people from Farghana, who served at the Byzantine court, is complicated. The territory of Farghana was the easternmost province of Transoxania (now Özbekistan), which was an important strategic station on the Silk Road. Farghana was mentioned as early as the 2nd century BC in the Chinese sources. The Türk Khagans conquered the Farghana Valley, and after the fall of the Khaganate the Arabs annexed the area, although the consolidation of power by the local dynasty took at least another century. The people of Farghana appeared in the bodyguard of the caliph al-Mu'tasim (833–842). The Arab geographical literature preserved detailed reports about the Farghana region from the time of the Samanids in the 10th century.<sup>143</sup> The Balkhī tradition listed the

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for the Emperor's prayer. Then in front of the Emperor comes a man called al-Ruhum who makes the people be silent and says, "Be silent." Then comes an old man holding in his hand a golden wash-basin and a golden jug adorned with pearls and rubies. Then comes the Emperor wearing his festival clothes, that is, silk clothes woven with jewels; on his head there is a crown; he wears two shoes, one of them black, the other red." (Vasiliev 1932, 158; Marquart 1903, 219; BGA VII, 123–124; Kmoskó 1/1, 187–188.) The parallel description of the second information can be found by al-Bakrī Leeuwen, Ferre 1992, 475–476.

140 DAI, 170–175; Belke, Soustal 1995, 73, 23 note, 187–197; in most cases the Byzantine practice was explained by the political ties of the Magyars to the Turkic speaking nomadic empires of the Türks and Khazars. Moravcsik 1983 II, 326; Németh 1991<sup>2</sup>, 160–161; Róna-Tas 1988, 132.

141 Oikonomides 1972, 208–209; ΗΚΙΓ, 95.

142 Marquart 1903, 227.

143 W. Barthold, Farghānā: EI II, 64–67; EI<sup>2</sup> II, 790–793.

larger cities of Transoxania; the Farghana region is described as adjacent to the Karluks.<sup>144</sup> Al-Iṣṭakhrī wrote about them:

As far as the military strength and the courage (of the Transoxanians), there is no Islamic territory whose inhabitants would participate in the holy war better than they do. That is, all the borders of the country of Transoxania are a war zone: Khwārazm as far as the land of Isbījāb is the [war zone] against the Ghuzziyya-Turks, from Isbījāb to the remotest part of Farghana is against Karluk-(Khazlajiyya)-Turks, then the [war zone] encircles the boundaries of Transoxania from as-Saffina and the land of Hind behind Khuttal as far as the border of the Turks behind Farghana. They submit the population of this region. It is well known that there is no more dangerous war zone in Islam(ic world) than that of the Turks. They are the borderland/frontier of Islam against the Turks, they keep them away from the land of Islam. The whole of Transoxania is a frontier, they form the target of the the enemy ... al-Mu‘taṣim asked ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir [r. 213–230/828–845] (or wrote to him asking) what there was to be envied in Khurāsān and Transoxania. ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir dispatched the letter to Nūḥ. b. Asad b. Sāmān, who wrote back to al-Mu‘taṣim: ‘Khurāsān and Transoxania have 300,000 villages. If one horseman and one infantryman were taken from each, the population would not notice a loss.’

I heard that the combat readiness in al-Shāsh and Farghana is higher than in any other border areas, insomuch as even a hundred of a common soldier has between a hundred and five hundred horses, despite the fact that he is not a sultan. However, despite the remoteness of their land, they excel everybody in pilgrimage. Nobody enters the desert before them and no one leaves it after them.

They [Khurāsānians and Transoxianians] are most submissive to their notables and most careful to please their rulers. These qualities encouraged the Abbasid caliphs to bring recruits from Transoxania. The Turks formed their armies thanks to their superiority over all other armies. The *dihqāns* served as their officers. [The Turks] distinguished themselves from all other soldiers by their great courage, temerity, and fortitude; this pushed them ahead of the others. On account of their agreeable service, eager obedience, and fine bearing in government uniform, the *dihqāns* of Transoxania become commanders, the retinue, and the elite guard of *khādims*. They became the retinue of the caliphate and its trusted agents.

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144 Kmoskó 1/2, 33, 53–54.

The leaders of the camps, such as the Faraghanians and the Turks, provided the police force for the caliph's palace. Turks who took control of the caliphate (on account of their courage and daring) included: al-Afshīn; the family of Abū'l-Sāj from Ushrusana; the Ikhshid from Samarqand; al-Marzubān b. Taraksafi; 'Ujayf b. Anbasa from Soghdia; the Bukhārākhodhāh; and other leading amirs, commanders, and soldiers.<sup>145</sup>

Al-Muqaddasi recorded: "They bring slaves of Turkish origin with white dress, weapons and swords, as well as copper and iron from Farghana and Isbijāb."<sup>146</sup> The inhabitants of Farghana were obviously a Persian-speaking population, but minor Turkic groups might have moved to the Farghana valley. It was, however, a part of the Samanid emirate having outstanding strategic importance in defence against the Turks. The population of Farghana participated in the slave-trade, and they must have sold Turkic youths to the court of the Caliphs. It is quite difficult to decide whether the term *Farghana* for the bodyguard in Byzantium or at the court of the caliph referred to Turkic or Persian pages. However, the people of Farghana in the service of the Byzantine emperor and the caliph of Baghdad in the 9th and 10th centuries were not Turks, as the turkification of the province of Farghana principally began in the 11th century.<sup>147</sup>

Thus, Hārūn ibn Yaḥyā adopted the Byzantine practice. It is probable that the authors living in Andalus also did the same, as the caliphs of Córdoba had tight diplomatic contacts with the Byzantine court in the 10th century.<sup>148</sup> The usage of the Latin sources corroborates this assumption. Recently, Theresa Olajos has pointed out that Liudprand and the author of the *Annales Baranses* used the ethnic name *Turci* for the Magyars. Liudprand visited Constantinople in 949 and Bari, where the above-mentioned annals originated, was the seat of a Byzantine province in Italy.<sup>149</sup> In both cases the Byzantine influence is evident. In conclusion, the ethnic name *Turk* for the Magyar tribal confederation in the Muslim sources was borrowed from Byzantine Greek usage.

145 Pipes 1981, 207; BGA I, 290–292; Kmoskó 1/2, 36–37.

146 BGA III, 325; Kmoskó 1/2, 129.

147 Marquart 1903, 227; Farghānā was an important trade center with the eastern Iranian-speaking population. A Turkic element infiltrated into the valley of Farghānā during the Türk rule in the 6th–7th centuries, but after the Arab invasion it became the frontier province against the Turk incursions. After the fall of the Samanids the Qarluq took it at the beginning of the 11th century. W. Barthold, B. Spuler, *Farghānā*: EI<sup>2</sup> II, 79.

148 Byzantine influence was emphasized by Róna-Tas (1988, 123) and Elter (1997, 100–101).

149 Olajos 1998, 221, note 50; 1999, 94.



### *Magyars Belonging to the Turk Peoples*

In the second case, the Magyars are listed among the Turkic peoples, so the name *Turk* is used as a collective term.

1. The Jayhānī tradition classified the Magyars as a type of Turks. According to Gyula Németh, the classification was based on the designation *Turk* for the Magyars in Muslim sources, but he considered the Byzantine analogy possible. After all, as the Magyars had tight relation with the Türk and Khazar Khaganates, this would explain the classification of the Magyars as Turkic peoples.<sup>150</sup> Róna-Tas emphasized that the Magyars were referred to as Turks in the sources because they were designated under various Turkic ethnic names (Turk, Bashkir, Onogur) and they received these names as their political and social organization followed the patterns of empires founded by Turkic-speaking peoples.<sup>151</sup>

2. The authors of the Balkhī-school, al-Iṣṭakhṛī, and his follower Ibn Ḥawqal called the Magyars *Basjirt* in the 10th century, but they also noted: “They (Magyars) and the Pechenegs are Turks bordering on the Rūm (Byzantium).”<sup>152</sup> In this case, in addition to the Magyars, the Pechenegs were included among the Turkic peoples.

3. Al-Mas‘ūdī corroborated this during the description of a joint campaign of the Magyars and Pechenegs against the Byzantine empire in 934. “We say that near Khazaria and Alania to the westward, there lie four Turkic nations<sup>153</sup> who trace their descent originally from a common ancestor. They are both nomad and settled, and are difficult of approach and very courageous. Each of them has a king. The extent of each kingdom is several days’ journey. A portion of their territory touches the Sea of Nīṭas (Pontus, Black Sea). Their raids extend to the lands of Rome and almost as far as Spain. They have mastery over all other nations in these parts.<sup>154</sup> Between them and the king of the Khazars is a truce, and so with the ruler of the

150 Németh 1991<sup>2</sup>, 160–161.

151 Róna-Tas 1988, 132.

152 al-Iṣṭakhṛī: BGA I, 225; HKÍF 50; Ibn Ḥawqal had the same text (BGA II<sup>2</sup>, 396; Kramers, Wiet 1964, 387; Kmoskó I/2, 31, 79–80).

153 The names of the four Turkic peoples are *Bajanā*, *Bajghird*, *Bajanāk*, [O]nūkurda. The designations *Bajanā* and *Bajanāk* are two variants of the name Pecheneg while the names *Bajghird* and [O]nūkurda are two different terms for the Magyars. According to Peter Golden, the pair *Bajanāk*, *Bajghird* derived from an Arabic tradition, whereas the ethnonyms *Bajanā*, [O]nūkurda reflect a Persian source: Golden 1975, 21–35.

154 There is a clear reference to Magyar raids. Among the newly-discovered Muslim sources about the campaign against Andalusia: HKÍF, 61–68.

Alans.<sup>155</sup> Al-Mas'ūdī recorded in his last book *Tanbīh* about the Magyar conquest and the westward migration of Pechenegs: “We have mentioned in [our] *Book of the Science of What Happened in Ages Past* the reason for the movement of these four Turkic tribes from the East and what occurred between them and the Oghuz, Karluk and Kimāk, of the wars and raids around the Sea of Jurjān (Aral Sea).—The river Jayhūn (Amu Darya) and the river of al-Shāsh, Farghana and the areas of al-Fārāb (Syr Darya) flow into this [lake]. Big ships laden with goods sail on it from the region of Khwārazm towards al-Shāsh and other directions, as we have shown in the previous part of our present book.”<sup>156</sup> The four peoples are in fact only two: the Magyars and Pechenegs. They belonged to the Turkic peoples.

4. Al-Bakrī wrote another chapter about the Magyars under the title *Unqalush*. It is said: “They are a Turkic people ... They are immigrants from Khurāsān. Islam is widespread there. These Turks redeem the Muslims and Jews from captivity.”<sup>157</sup> The author of the account could be a Muslim or Jewish merchant or diplomat from the court of Córdoba in the second half of the 10th century.<sup>158</sup>

To understand this usage, a historical review of the term in the Muslim historical and geographical literature is needed. In the first half of the 8th century, the Arabs and the Türk empire faced each other in Transoxania. At that time the term *Turk* in the Muslim sources meant the people of the Türk empire. The middle of the 8th century brought fundamental changes: the Türk empire was replaced by the Uygurs and in the Caliphate the Abbasids took power from the Umayyads.<sup>159</sup> At that period began a time of peaceful coexistence, which can be characterized by Arabic popular etymologies of the ethnic name *Turk*. The pun equates the ethnonym *Turk* and the Arabic verbal noun from *taraka* ‘leave; neglect, desist.’ First, there are quotations attributed to the Prophet preserved in the *ḥadīth*-literature concerning the Turks: تاركوا الترك ما تركوكم *tārikū-t-turk mā tarakūkum* “Let the Turks alone, till they leave

155 Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* II, 58; II<sup>2</sup>, 236; Dunlop 1954, 212; Golden 1975, 21–35; Pellat 1962, 177; Rotter 1978, 103; HKÍF 52–53; Kmoskó 1/2, 182–183. The shorter version of al-Mas'ūdī, BGA VIII, 180–191. The Magyar raid against Byzantium was recorded by a Greek source, Moravcsik 1984, 60–61. Cf. Kristó 1980, 268–271.

156 BGA VIII, 180–181; Golden 1972, 59; 1975, 23; Marquart 1903, 63; Kmoskó 1/2, 217–218.

157 Zimonyi 2004, 26–27; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 230 The first sentence is from the work of al-Bakrī; Leeuwen, Ferre 1992, 490; the second part derives from the work of al-Bakrī but was preserved in the geographical dictionary of al-Ḥimyarī (39).

158 The Caliphate of Cordoba showed a keen interest in the political situation in Eastern Europe during the 10th century: Zimonyi 2001, 93–95.

159 W. Barthold, *Türken*. I. Historisch-ethnographische Übersicht: EI III, 969–978, 973.

you alone.”<sup>160</sup> The folk etymology of the Turks had a great career in Muslim literature: “When the Hour of Judgement is finally there, the Muslims will fight the Turks, a people whose faces are like layered shields, who are dressed in clothes made of hair and walk in sandals made of hair.”<sup>161</sup>

Yāqūt collected some quotations in his geographical dictionary in the early 13th century under the head-word of Turkestan: “The Turks will be the first to plunder my nation, as they are rich. According to Ibn ‘Abbās he said: The rule (or the Caliph’s office) will remain with my sons until the red-faced people overcome their fame, their faces resembling a smooth-hammered shield. He quoted after Abū Hurayra—May God be pleased with him—: The hour of judgment will not come before a broad-faced, small-eyed, flat-nosed people come, and on the banks of the Tigris they will tether their horses there. According to Mu‘āwiyā: do not provoke the two beasts (lying) with chest to the ground; let the Turks and the Abyssinians alone, as long as they leave you (in peace).<sup>162</sup> Others reported that the Prophet—May God bless him and grant him salvation—said: Let the Turks alone, so long as they leave you (in peace).”<sup>163</sup>

Many of the sayings projected the role of the Turks in the bodyguard of Abbasid caliphs and Turkish dynasties in the history of the Caliphate.<sup>164</sup>

Gardizī wrote the following in connection with the Biblical descent of the Turkic peoples: “[While the land of] the Turks, the Saqlāb, and [the tribes of] Gog and Magog as far as China fell to Japheth. Inasmuch as these lands of Turkestan were (the) farthest away from the areas of cultivation (*abādānī*) he named them “*Tark*” (i.e. ‘Abandonment; neglected land fallen from cultivation’).”<sup>165</sup> The Arabic folk etymology is evident. Then the description of the weather magic with the rain stone is mentioned, which is connected with the concept of the absence of cultivation, i.e. civilization from the Muslim point of view.<sup>166</sup> A similar interpretation was proposed by al-Idrīsī: The Arabs call them Turks, because Alexander the Great built a wall against them and left them behind it.<sup>167</sup>

160 Qudāma: BGA VI, 262; Miquel 1975, 244–245; Kmoskó 1/1, 169; cf. Hamadhānī: BGA V, 316.

161 Juynboll 2007, 453.

162 “Rouse not ye against you *the two* [peoples] *that are remaining quiet* as long as they do not pursue you.” Lane III, 1013.

163 Wüstenfeld 1866, I, 837; Yāqūt II, 23.

164 Pipes 1981; Crone 1980.

165 Ḥabībī 1963, 256; Martínez 1982, 117; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 96.

166 On weather magic among the Turkic peoples: Molnár 1994, 11.

167 Idrīsī 1970–1978, 850.

In the 9th century diplomatic and commercial contacts brought new information. The term *bilād al-Atrāk* ‘the land of the Turks’ denoting the steppe of Inner Asia was the source of the slave-trade, the body-guard of the caliphs becoming Turks.<sup>168</sup> In addition, there were diplomatic missions sent to the Turks: for example, Tamīm ibn Baḥr visited the court of the Uyghur Khagan in 821.<sup>169</sup>

In the second half of the ninth century Ibn Khurdādhbih was one of the founders of Arabic geographical literature, a confidant of the Caliph Mu‘tamid (870–892), and the director of Posts and Intelligence. The first edition of his geographic work is dated to 847, the later to the 880s. He enumerated the lands of the Turks: “Toghuzoghuz, whose country is the most extensive among the Turks and borders on China and Tibet; Kharluh; Kīmāk, Ghuzz, J.f.r,<sup>170</sup> Bajānāk, Turkash, Adhkash, Khifshāh, Khirkhīz—where musk is found; the Kharlukh and the Khalaj and these (latter) are on the side of the river.”<sup>171</sup> This list was very popular and was quoted by other authors: al-Hamadhānī, al-Mas‘ūdī, Yāqūt and al-Idrīsī.<sup>172</sup> The names of the major nomadic tribal confederations of the

168 Other sources of slave-trade: *Bilād al-Ṣaqālība*, ‘the land of the Slavs’ i.e. the forest zone of Eastern Europe, and *Bilād al-Sūdān*, ‘the land of the blacks’ i.e. the rainforests and savannas of Africa: Lombard 1991, 57–58; 198; P. Sourdel, Ghulam. I. The Caliphate: EI<sup>2</sup> II, 1079.

169 Minorsky, 1948, 302–303.

170 A: *al-ḥ.f.r.*; B: *al-j.gh.h.*; al-Hamadhānī omitted this name (BGA V, 329). Yāqūt under title Turkistān: *al-jafar*; al-Mas‘ūdī: *al-jaghriya* (*Murūj* I, 288; II<sup>2</sup>, 155). Kmoskó read it as *majghar* 2001, 108, 252 note. Cf. Minorsky 1937, 319, note 2. He preferred the version *al-majghar* to that of de Goeje and Marquart, who emended the form to *al-jiqir* Chigil.

171 Minorsky 1937, 347; BGA VI, 31.

172 al-Hamadhānī used the same source: “The tribe of the Turks: al-Toghuzoghuz, their country is the biggest among the Turks; its frontiers are Ṣin and Tubbat, al-Kharlukh, al-Ghuzz, al-Bajānāk, al-Turkash, Arkush, Khifjākh and Khirkhīz. The number of the Turkic towns is 16; the Toghuzoghuz are the Arabs of the Turks.” BGA V, 329.

Yāqūt’s parallel text is the following: “The biggest country among the Turks is that of the Toghuzoghuz. Its frontiers are China, Tibet, al-Khazlaj (Kharlukh), al-Kīmāk, al-Ghuzz, al-Jafar, al-Bajānāk, al-Badhkash, Adhkash, Khifjāq and Khirkhīz. Fārāb is their first border toward the land of the Muslims. The number of their famous towns is 16. The Toghuzoghuz are among the Turks, like the Bedouins, nomadizing with tents. The Badhkash live in towns and villages.” Yāqūt I, 838.

Al-Idrīsī enumerated the Turkic peoples in connection with the legend of Gog and Magog and the Alexander romance: “Al-Kharlukhiyya, Tibet, al-Khirkhiziyya, al-Toghuzoghuziyya, al-Kīmākiyya, al-Makhānāniyya, al-Adhkash, al-Khifshākh, Khalaj, al-Ghuzz,

9th century in Central Asia can be identified: *Tokuzoguz* is the Arabic name for the Uygurs, Karluks, Kirgiz, Kimäk, Kipchak, Oguz and Pecheneg. In the 9th century the term *Turk* denoted the ethnic groups speaking the same language, and contrary to earlier usage was no longer a term denoting empire (*el*, Reichsvolk), but was actually used for tribal confederations (*bodun*). The 10th century brought fundamental changes, for the Samanids ruling Khurāsān and Transoxania started the Islamization of the neighbouring Turks.<sup>173</sup> Al-Jayhānī, the Wazīr of the Samanids, played a crucial role in this process, as he in fact had the power at court from 914.

Ibn Rusta, representing the Jayhānī tradition, described the peoples in the last two climates of the Earth, which was divided into seven parallel zones (climates): “The sixth climate starts in the east and runs through the land of Magog and then the land of the Khazars. Then it cuts through the Sea of Ṭabaristān [Caspian Sea] in the direction of areas of Rūm [Byzantium], the Jurzān permeates Amāsiyā, Khiraqla, Khalqīdhūn, Constantinople, and the areas of Burjān [Danube Bulgars], and it reaches the Western Sea. The seventh climate starts in the east in the northern land of Gog, and runs through the land of the Turks and then the northern shores of the Sea of Ṭabaristān. Then it runs through the Sea of Rūm and touches the areas of Burjān and Ṣaqāliba (Slavs), and it finally reaches the Western Sea. As for the zone lying behind this climate up to the point of the inhabited land which we know, it starts in the east at the land of Gog, then it passes through the land of Toghuzoghuz, the land of the Turks, then the land of the Alans, thereafter al-Abar (Avars), the Burjān and Ṣaqāliba and reaches the Western Sea.”<sup>174</sup> The term *Turk* refers generally to steppe nomads living east of the Caspian Sea. The peoples of Eastern European steppe such as the Khazars and Bulgars do not belong to them. This is corroborated by the information in the chapter about the Khazars: “Their supreme ruler is a Jew, and likewise the Īshā and those of the generals and chief men who follow his way of thinking. The rest of them have a religion like the religion of the Turks.”<sup>175</sup>

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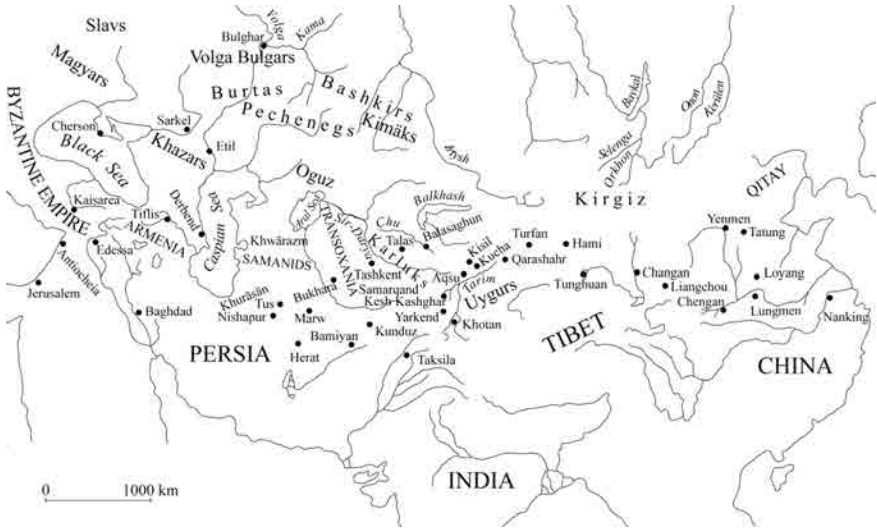
al-Bulghāriyya belong to the Turks. These people were left behind the Wall by Alexander.” Idrīsī, 850.

Al- Mas‘ūdī has a similar description: “The Kīmākiyya, Barskhāniyya, Badiyya and the Ja’riyya belong to the Turks; the most powerful is the tribe of Ghuzziyya; the most handsome and good-looking is the people of Kharlukhiyya.” *Murūj* 1, 288; 11<sup>2</sup>, 155, cf. Minorsky 1948, 288; Pellat 1962, 120.

173 W. Barthold, EI III, 975.

174 BGA VII, 98; Kmoskó 1/1, 183.

175 BGA VII, 139; Dunlop 1954, 104; Kmoskó 1/1, 204; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 52–53.

FIGURE 3 *Inner Asia in the 9th and 10th centuries*

MAP BY RICHÁRD SZÁNTÓ

Al-Iṣṭakhri enumerated the Turkic peoples in his introduction: “As for the Turks, they are Toghuzoghuz, Khirkhiz, Kīmāk, Ghuzziyya and Kharlulkhija. Their languages are the same. They understand each other; as for the languages of the countries of Ṣīn (China) and Tibet, they differ from these languages. The whole empire belongs to the ruler of Ṣīn residing in Khumdān,<sup>176</sup> as the empire of Rūm belongs to the king residing in Constantinople and the realm of Islam belongs to the Commander of the Faithful in Baghdad,<sup>177</sup> and the empire of al-Hind (India)<sup>178</sup> belongs to the king residing in Qanawj.”<sup>179</sup> The same Turkic ethnonyms can be found in the work of Ibn Khurdādhbih. These five Turkic peoples played a determining role in Central Asia in the 9th and 10th centuries. In addition, the aspect of systematization was based on the languages, and the Turks were the part of the Chinese Empire from a political perspective. The world was divided into four empires: Persia, Byzantium, China and India. This politically-based division of the world was inherited from Persia,

176 Khumdān is the capital of the T'ang dynasty, Chang-an; cf. Minorsky 1937, 229; Minorsky 1942, 84.

177 The Byzantine emperor and the Caliph of Baghdad.

178 The center of northern India was Kanawj (M. Longworth Dames, J. Burton-Page, Kanawdj: EI<sup>2</sup> IV, 533).

179 BGA I, 9; Kmoskó 1/2, 18; cf. The parallel text of Ibn Ḥawqal BGA II<sup>2</sup>, 14; Kramers, Wiet 1964, 13–14; Kmoskó 1/2, 59.

of which realm the Islamic Empire regarded itself as the successor in its central area, with occupied territories from the other empires. All known lands and peoples were attached to these four empires. Therefore, Eastern Europe belonged to Byzantium, while the Central Asian steppe nomads were assigned to the Chinese Empire.<sup>180</sup> One well-known name, i.e. the Khazars, is missing in the enumerations. The Khazars were not attached to any empires; however, the Balkhī tradition has a separate chapter on the Sea of the Khazars. As for the relation between Khazars and Turks, there are two relevant accounts: “The Khazars’ language is not that of the Turks and not Persian, nor does the language of any section of humanity coincide with it”<sup>181</sup> and “The Khazars do not resemble the Turks. They are black-haired, and are of two kinds; one is called Qarākhazar,<sup>182</sup> who are swarthy verging to deep black, as if they a kind of Indians, and a white kind, who are strikingly handsome.”<sup>183</sup> Similarly to Ibn Rusta, al-Iṣṭakhrī did not enlist the Khazars among the Turkic peoples on the basis of linguistic and anthropological characteristics.

Al-Mas‘ūdī’s relevant passage about the joint Magyar-Pecheneg raid against the Balkans has been cited, and these peoples were characterized as Turks. Al-Mas‘ūdī mentioned the peoples of the sixth climate: “The Turks, the Khazars, [the people] of Daylam and Ṣaḡāliba [Slavs].”<sup>184</sup> Based on the presentation of the Aral Sea, he claims that: “Most of the Turks living in this area belong to the tribe of Oguz (Ghuzziyya) who are nomadic or sedentary. They are divided into three groups, namely the lower, the upper and the middle.”<sup>185</sup> Finally, al-Mas‘ūdī told of the origins of the Turkic peoples embedded in the biblical tradition: “There are different opinions about the descent and origin of the Chinese. Many declare that the child of ‘Amur is ibn Subil ibn Jāfith ibn Nuḥ. As Fālagh ibn ‘Ābir ibn Arfakhshād ibn Sam ibn Nuḥ divided the earth among descendants of Noah, they moved to the northeast. A part of them, namely the descendants of Reu (Ar‘ū), turned to the north, where they spread and

180 “The empire of Rūm includes Ṣaḡāliba and their neighbors al-Rūs, al-Sarīr, Alans, Armenians and other Christian peoples. The empire of Ṣīn includes all the lands of the Turks and Tibet and other pagans.” (BGA I, 4; Kmoskó 1/2, 14; see the parallel text by Ibn Ḥawqal: BGA II<sup>2</sup>, 9; Kramers, Wiet 1964, 9.)

181 Dunlop 1954, 93–95; BGA I, 222; Kmoskó 1/2, 29; Ibn Ḥawqal: BGA II<sup>2</sup>, 393; Kramers, Wiet 1964, 383; Kmoskó 1/2, 77; cf. Czeglédy, МÓТ, 103; Ligeti 1986, 488.

182 The Turkish word *qara* means ‘black.’

183 Dunlop 1954, 96; BGA I, 223; Kmoskó 1/2, 30; Ibn Ḥawqal: BGA II<sup>2</sup>, 394; Kramers, Wiet 1964, 385; Kmoskó 1/2, 78.

184 *Murūj* I, 182; II<sup>2</sup>, 100; Pellat 1962, 76.

185 *Murūj* I, 212; II<sup>2</sup>, 116; Rotter 1978, 37; Pellat 1962, 86.

founded many kingdoms, including Daylam, Jil, Taylasān, Babr, Mūqān, the various tribes in the Caucasus (Qabq) including the Lezg (Lakz), the Alans, Khazars, the Abkhaz, the Sarīr, and the Circassians, as well as all other peoples in the region up to Trebizond, the Azov, the Black and the Caspian Sea, and finally the Bulgars and their neighboring peoples. The other descendants of ‘Āmūr crossed the Oxus River (River of Balkh = Amu Darya) and left mostly for China. There they founded different kingdoms, and they dispersed over the regions. They include the Khuttal (Khuttal), the inhabitants of Khuttalān, Ruwīshān, Ushrūsana and Ṣughd [Sogdiana]—between Bukhara and Samarqand—then Farghana, al-Shāsh, Isbījāb and the inhabitants of the land of al-Fārāb. They built towns and villages, others who separated from them made the steppes their habitat; among them are the Turks, the Kharlukh, and the Tokuzoguz. These (latter) are the masters of the town Kaushan [i.e. Kao-ch’ang = Khocho, near Turfan]. This kingdom lies between Khurāsān and China. In our time [i.e. in the year 332/943–944], among the tribes and classes of the Turks there is no one more valiant than the Tokuzoguz, nor more powerful, nor possessing a more solid state. Their king is \*Uygurkhan and their religion is Manichean (*al-manā’iya*). There are no other Turks besides them who profess this religion. And the (other) Turks are the Kimak, the Barskhanians, al-B.dīya, and al-J.gh.riya. Of these the strongest are the Oguz (Ghuz), while the Kharlukh have the best shape, the tallest stature, and the finest faces; they live in the region of Farghana and Shash (Tashkent) and in its neighbourhood. And they [rather ‘these Turks’ than the Qarluq!] had a kingdom, and of them was the khaqan of the khaqans, who united (under him) the other Turkish kingdoms and the kings used to obey him. Of these khaqans was Afrasiyab the Turk who triumphed over the Persian kingdom; of them was \*Shaba, but in our time there is no khaqan of the Turks whom the (other) kings obey. This has happened since the destruction of the town called ‘Amat (\*Suyab?), which lay in the steppes of Samarqand. We have mentioned the passing away of the kingdom from that town and the reason for that in our book *al-Awsat*.<sup>186</sup> Except for certain details, this reflects the basic idea represented in the work of Ibn Khurdādhbih. Al-Mas‘ūdī located the Turkic peoples in the zone stretching from the territory north of Khurāsān as far as northern China, and he preserved a tradition that the Turks earlier formed a political unit.

The author of the *Hudūd al-‘ālam* used both al-Jayhānī and al-Balkhī in the preparation of his work. He enumerated the nomadic peoples of Central Asia in paragraphs 12–22: Toghuzoghuz, Yaghmā, Khirkhīz, Khallukh, Chigil,

186 *Murūj* 1, 286–289; 11<sup>2</sup>, 153–155; Minorsky 1948, 288; Rotter 1978, 67; Pellat 1962, 119–120.



Tukhs, Kimāk, Ghūz, Turkic Bajanāk, Qibchaq, and Majgharī [Magyars].<sup>187</sup> The anonymous author closes this section as follows: “And all these whom we have mentioned are the different categories of Turks (existing in the) world. Now we shall mention all the lands of Islam, and then the rest of the lands of the infidels, lying in the western parts.”<sup>188</sup> The people of Eastern Europe are discussed under paragraphs 43–53: Şaqlāb, Rūs, Inner-Bulghār, Mirwāt, Khazarian Bajanāk, Alans, Sarīr, Khazars, Burtās, B.rādhās, W.n.nd.r.<sup>189</sup> The anonymous author first mentioned the Far-East, including China, Tibet and India, then the Turkic peoples, then the lands of Islam, the Byzantine Empire, and the peoples of Eastern Europe, and finally the southern countries: Abyssinia, Nubia and Sūdān. It is evident from the structure of the composition that the lands of the Turkic peoples consist of Inner Asia, i.e. the steppe belt east from the Volga river, and the steppe region of Eastern Europe (i.e. west of the Volga) does not belong to the Turkic world.

Ibn Faḡlān travelled in 922 from Khwārazm via the Kazakh steppe to the Volga-Kama region. In his opinion the Kazakh steppe is the land of the Turks: “... he recounts what he saw in the land(s) of the Turks, the Khazars, the Rūs, the Şaqāliba, Bashkirs (bāshghird) and the others, of the many types of their religion, of the histories of their kings, and [of] the way they act in many affairs of their life.”<sup>190</sup> The caravan entered the land of the Turks at the Gate of the Turks, which can be identified with the rise to the plateau of Ust-Urt.<sup>191</sup> Then Ibn Faḡlān met a nomadic tribe in the country of the Turks: “we reached a tribe [*qabīla*] of the Turks, which are called Oguz (*al-ghuziyya*).” And later he said: “The King of the Ghuziyya-Turks is yabghū.”<sup>192</sup> Ibn Faḡlān noted about the Pechenegs that they are poorer than the Oguz, and wrote on the Bashkirs: “We halted near people in the country of a tribe of Turks called the Bāshghird, and we were extremely wary of them, for they are the most wicked of the Turks, the dirtiest of them, and the most audacious in the commission of murder.”<sup>193</sup> Accordingly, Ibn Faḡlān regarded the inhabitants of the Kazakh steppe, i.e. the Oguz and Bashkirs, as Turks, and probably considered the Pechenegs to belong to this category as well.

187 Minorsky 1937, 47, 94–101.

188 Sotoodeh 1962, 88; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 210; English translation: Minorsky 1937, 101.

189 Minorsky 1937, 48, 158–163.

190 Frye 2005, 25; Togan, 1939, 1.

191 Togan 1939, 7, note 5, 17; Frye 2005, 32.

192 Frye 2005, 33, 39; Togan 1939, 19, 28.

193 Frye 2005, 42; Togan 1939, 35; Lewicki 1985, 45, 97–98.

The Muslim authors of 9th and 10th centuries presented five major tribal confederations: The Uygurs, known as Tokuzoguz in Muslim sources, founded a nomadic empire in the middle of the 8th century that was overthrown by the Kirgiz in 840. These empires extended to East Central Asia, whereas the Karluks, the Kimäks, and the Oguz had a decisive political role in West Central Asia. In the western fringe of the latter region there were three more peoples: the Qipchaqs, the Pechenegs and the Magyars and/or the Bashkirs. The term 'land of the Turks' included the central Asian steppe from Manchuria to the Volga River in the geographical sense. The steppe zone west of the Volga did not belong to the Turkic world, as the *Hudūd al-'ālam* clearly proves. The distinction between the nomads east of the Volga and those west of it was so clear that the Pechenegs who lived east of the Volga before their westward migration around 895 and those who remained there were called Turkic Pechenegs, while the Pechenegs who settled on the northern shore of the Black Sea were denominated Khazarian Pechenegs, since they had left the orbit of the Turkic peoples.<sup>194</sup>

The collective term *Turk* for the Pechenegs of Eastern Europe in the works of al-Iṣṭakhri and al-Mas'ūdi quoted above is historically adequate, because the Pechenegs originated from Central Asia.<sup>195</sup> Al-Iṣṭakhri knew that fact: "A tribe of the Turks called Pechenegs, having been ousted from its lands, settled between the Khazars and Rūm. Their place is not their ancient home, but they have come to it and occupied it."<sup>196</sup> This is a reference to the westward migration of the Pechenegs around 895 attested in other sources. Al-Mas'ūdi gave a detailed description: the four Turkic tribes (Pechenegs and Magyars) moved to the west as a consequence of the wars among the Oguz, Qarluq and Kimäk.<sup>197</sup> Al-Mas'ūdi's account is confused and combines separate actions. In reality, the Samanid ruler, Ismā'il ibn Aḥmad, defeated the western Qarluq ruler in 893. As a consequence, the two neighboring tribal confederations, the Oguz and Kimäk, were strengthened. The Oguz defeated the Pechenegs living on the western border of the Kazakh steppe along the Ural River. Most of the Pechenegs migrated, crossing the Ural and Volga Rivers to the region north of the Black Sea. This was the habitat of the Magyars, who,

194 On the two groups of the Pechenegs see *Hudūd al-'ālam*, 87, 190–191; Minorsky 1937, 101, 160, 312–315, 443–444.

195 The early history of the Pechenegs has recently been studied by Senga (Senga 1993, 503–506; cf. Pritsak 1975, 211–215).

196 Minorsky 1937, 313–314; al-Iṣṭakhri: BGA I, 10; Ibn Ḥawqal: BGA II<sup>2</sup>, 15.

197 BGA VIII, 181; Golden 1975, 23.

being defeated, settled in the Carpathian Basin.<sup>198</sup> Thus, the Magyars did not move west from the territory of Inner Asia beginning east of the Volga River, which was the homeland of the Turkic peoples according to the Muslim point of view, but from Eastern Europe, to be precise from the steppes between the Lower Danube and the Dnieper, where they are described by sources of the 9th century. Al-Mas'ūdī's misinterpretation did not provide a firm basis for the usage of the collective term *Turk* for the Magyars by other Muslim authors.

The list of ethnonyms by Ibn Khurdādhbih contains *j.fr* between the Oguz and the Pechenegs, which can be connected with the form *majghir* (Magyars). As Ibn Khurdādhbih was the main source for the Jayhānī tradition, the idea of an eastern origin of the Magyars might have been taken from the description of Ibn Khurdādhbih. The first sentence of the Magyar chapter suggests that a group of Magyars lived somewhere east of the Volga between the Pechenegs and the Volga Bulgars. If the Magyars living in the western region moved there from the western fringe of Central Asia, they were considered Turks. This is corroborated by al-Iṣṭakhri, representing the Balkhī tradition, who wrote about the Magyars under the name Basjirt: "There are two classes of Basjirt. The ones found at the farther end of the Oguz (Ghuzz) behind the Bulghār are said to be about 2,000 men and to be protected by impassable thickets; they obey the Bulghārs. The other class of them borders on the Pechenegs."<sup>199</sup> The accounts of al-Jayhānī and al-Iṣṭakhri can be interpreted as follows: at the end of the 9th century and extending into the 10th century, a minor group of Magyars lived east of the Volga between the habitat of the Volga Bulgars and, first, that of the Pechenegs, and after 895, that of the Oguz. The existence of this group of Magyars is attested by archaeological data, and the Hungarian monk Julianus encountered descendants of this group in the Volga region in the first half of the 13th century.<sup>200</sup>

To complicate the matter, the Hungarians were known as Bashkirs in the Muslim and Latin sources. In the passages quoted from al-Iṣṭakhri and al-Mas'ūdī, the Magyars are designated Bashkirs. The Bashkirs were mentioned as Turks distinct from the Magyars by Ibn Faḍlān and Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī. It is not our aim to answer the question how the Magyars and Turkic Bashkirs came to share the same name, but there was a group of Magyar and Turkic Bashkirs

198 On the westward migration of the Pechenegs see Zimonyi 1990, 158–175.

199 Minorsky 1937, 319; al-Iṣṭakhri: BGA I, 225; Ibn Ḥawqal: BGA II<sup>2</sup>, 396; Kramers, Wiet 1964, 387; Kmoskó 1/2, 79–80.

200 On the archaeological data see Fodor 1982, 46–60; on Julianus and his travels see Göckenjan, Sweeney 1985, 67–125.

in the 10th–13th centuries in the Volga-Kama region. According to the medieval concept of the formation of peoples, it was accepted and in most cases historically relevant that during the time of migrations minorities remained behind, so when two separate peoples having the same name appeared in our sources, the eastern group's territory was regarded as the ancient habitat of both peoples. The case of the Pechenegs fits well into the model, but in the case of the Magyars it is misleading, as the habitat of the people named Bashkirs of the 9th–10th centuries living in the Volga-Kama region cannot be considered the ancient home of the Hungarians as they migrated there from elsewhere, although the Hungarian language was formed earlier in the Volga-Kama region. Thus, according to the conception of the Muslim authors, the Magyars and the Pechenegs, the latter deriving from Turkic nomads of Inner Asia, belonged with those peoples in the 10th century, despite living in Eastern-Europe.

Al-Bakrī corroborated the ideas of the Muslim authors in his chapter on the Magyars in the Carpathian Basin, as he emphasized that the Magyars originated from Khurāsān, the northeastern part of Persia and part of Central Asia.<sup>201</sup>

The situation changed radically in the 11th century after the collapse of the Khazar empire. First one part of the Oguz occupied Eastern-Europe, then in the middle of the 11th century the Pechenegs and Oguz were replaced by the Qipchaqs, who settled the vast steppe between the lower Danube and the lower Volga. According to the Muslim view of the Turks, Eastern Europe came under the power of the Turkic peoples. It is no wonder that Gardizī and al-Marwazī, writing in the 11th–12th centuries, enlisted all the peoples of Eastern Europe in the category of the Turks, in spite of the fact that they followed earlier authors.

In conclusion, the ethnic name *Turk* as an external designation was applied to the Magyars in a double sense. *Turk* as an ethnic name of the Magyars in the works of Andalusian authors and of a Muslim prisoner of war in Constantinople was an adaptation of the Byzantine designation applied to the Magyars. The formation of the ethnonym *Turk* as a collective term applied to the Magyars is more complicated. The Arabs came into contact with the Türk empire during the conquest of Transoxania in the first half of the 8th century. The designation *Turk* meant the people of the Türk empire in general. After the fall of the Türk empire the meaning of the ethnic name changed as a consequence of the formation of the Muslim geographical literature, which brought new and

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201 The theory can be connected with the Khwārazmians (Hungarian *Káliz*), who took part in the Hungarian ethnogenesis (Zimonyi 2001, 92, note 16; C.E. Bosworth, *Khurāsān*: EI<sup>2</sup> V, 55).

exact information on the ethnic and political situation of Inner Asia. The new meaning denoted a group of peoples who had been tribal confederations under the rule of the Türk Khagans, living in the steppe zone of Inner Asia from Manchuria to the Volga, speaking similar Turkic languages, and having the same nomadic way of life. The Magyars were included in this group of peoples in the Muslim geographical literature, because a small group of Magyars or Turkic Bashkirs identified with them lived east of the Volga in the second half of the 9th and the beginning of the 10th centuries, and Muslim authors identified these eastern Magyars with the bulk of the Magyars living north of the Black Sea, then later in the Carpathian Basin. Thus, these western Magyars were regarded as one of the Turkic peoples who migrated there from Inner Asia, much like the Pechenegs.

#### 4 The Strength of the Magyar Army

Ibn Rusta: Their chieftain rides at the head of 20,000 horsemen.

Gardizī: Their chieftain is (rides) with 20,000 horsemen.

*Ḥudūd al-‘ālam*: This country has some 20,000 men who take the field with their king.

Al-Marwazī: Their chieftain rides at the head of 20,000 horsemen.

‘Awfī: When their chieftain rides out, 20,000 horsemen ride with him.

The Muslim authors generally used this formula to determine the military strength of peoples. This figure is of crucial importance, since population estimates are based on the relevant numbers. For the peoples of Eastern Europe the figures in the books of the Jayhānī tradition, the Balkhī tradition, Ibn Faḍlān, and al-Mas‘ūdī have been taken into consideration.

Ibn Rusta used the same sentence in the Khazar chapter about the army of the Khazar king: “He rides at the head of ten thousand horsemen, of whom some are regular paid troops and others have been levied on the rich.”<sup>202</sup> Ibn Rusta noted about the Burdās living west of the Volga and north of the Khazars under subordination to the king of the Khazars: “Ten thousand horsemen can go out from there.”<sup>203</sup> As for the Volga Bulgars in the Jayhānī tradition, Gardizī states that they “amount to five hundred thousand households (*ahl*

202 BGA VII, 140; Dunlop 1954, 105; Wiet 1955, 157; Kmoskó 1/1, 205; MEH 90; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 54.

203 BGA VII, 140; Wiet 1955, 157; Kmoskó 1/1, 205; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 55.

*bayt*),<sup>204</sup> while al-Bakrī mentioned that “They are few in number, about five hundred households (*ahl bayt*).”<sup>205</sup> The Sarīr (Arabic ‘throne’) people living in the Caucasus were described in a separate chapter, in which Ibn Rusta reported that their king had twenty thousand clans (*sha’b*). Minorsky interpreted *shi’b* as meaning ‘valley,’ while the parallel passage by Gardīzī includes the word *qabīla* ‘tribe,’ which supports the former interpretation.<sup>206</sup> In his chapter on the Alans, Ibn Rusta reported that the castle protecting the gate of the Alans is guarded by a crew of a thousand men.<sup>207</sup>

According to the Balkhī tradition, the number of the Muslim population of the Khazar capital, Ātil, exceeded 10,000,<sup>208</sup> the khagan of the Khazars had a guard consisting of four thousand men, and his army comprised 12,000 men.<sup>209</sup> The number of the Magyars (Basjirt) remaining in the east is two thousand men.<sup>210</sup> Gardīzī, describing the ethnogenetic legend of the Kirgiz, mentioned that the Bashkirs have two thousand horsemen.<sup>211</sup> The population of the two most important cities (Bulghār and Suwār) of the Volga Bulgars consisted of 10,000 inhabitants.<sup>212</sup>

Ibn Faḍlān, unfortunately, gave a numerical indication only once. He wrote of a group of the Volga Bulgars: “We saw among them members of a family (*ahl bayt*) known as Baranjār, comprising five thousand souls of both men and women, all of whom had embraced Islam.”<sup>213</sup>

Al-Mas‘ūdī wrote of the Muslims serving in the court of the Khazars: “Muslims predominate in this town (or country) because they form the royal troops. They are known in their town as *al-ārisīyya* and they are immigrants from the environs of Khwārazm. In olden times after the rise of Islam there occurred in their country a war and a plague, and they migrated to the Khazar king. They

204 Ḥabībī 1963, 274; Martínez 1982, 157; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 170.

205 Leeuwen, Ferre 1992, 449; Zimonyi 1990, 130; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 227.

206 BGA VII, 147; Wiet 1955, 165; Kmoskó I/1, 214; Minorsky 1958, 168; Martínez 1982, 171; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 88, 182.

207 BGA VII 148; Wiet 1955, 167; Kmoskó I/1, 215; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 93.

208 BGA I, 220; Dunlop 1954, 92; BGA II<sup>2</sup>, 390; Kramers, Wiet 1964, 380; Kmoskó I/2, 28, 75.

209 BGA I, 220–221; Dunlop 1954, 92; BGA II<sup>2</sup>, 390; Kramers, Wiet 1964, 380; Kmoskó I/2, 28, 75.

210 BGA I, 225; Dunlop 1954, 98; BGA II<sup>2</sup>, 396; Kramers, Wiet 1964, 387; Kmoskó I/2, 31, 79.

211 Ḥabībī 1963, 261; Martínez 1982, 125; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 119; НКІҒ, 26.

212 BGA I, 225; Dunlop 1954, 99; BGA II<sup>2</sup>, 396; Kramers, Wiet 1964, 387; Kmoskó I/2, 32, 80.

213 Frye 2005, 57; Togan 1939, 67–68; Kovalevskiy 1956, 138; Canard 1958, 65; Lewicki 1985, 60, 106, 176–177.

are valiant and courageous people, and they are the mainstay of this king in his wars. They remained in his dominions on certain conditions, one of which was that they should practice their religion openly and have mosques and calls to prayer; also that the vazir should be (appointed) from among them, as is the case at present when the vazir is Aḥmad ibn Kūya; and also that they should fight the infidels together with the king, but when he is at war with Muslims, they should stay in his army apart from the others and not fight their co-religionists. At present some 7,000 of them ride with the king, armed with bows, cuirasses, helmets and coats of mail. There are also lancers among them armed as usual with Muslims.”<sup>214</sup> The Rūs troops attacked the Muslim provinces south of the Caspian Sea in 913 using the waterways of Don and Volga. On their return, al-Mas‘ūdī reported: “The *al-ārisiyya* and other Muslims in the kingdom (heard) what (the Rūs) had done and said to the king: ‘Leave us (to deal) with these people who have attacked our Muslim brothers and shed their blood and captured their women and children.’ The king, unable to oppose them, sent to warn the Rūs that the Muslims had decided to fight them. The Muslims gathered and came down the stream to meet them. When they came face to face, the Rūs left their ships. The Muslims were about 15,000, with horses and equipment, and some of the Christians living in the town Ātil were with them. The battle lasted three days and God granted victory to the Muslims. The Rūs were put to the sword and killed and drowned and only some 5,000 escaped, who sailed in their ships to that bank which lies towards the Burtās. They left their ships and proceeded by land. Some of them were killed by the Burtās, others fell (into the hands of) the Burghar Muslims who (also) killed them. So far as could be estimated, the number of those whom the Muslims killed on the banks of the Khazar river was about 30,000 men.”<sup>215</sup>

Al-Mas‘ūdī wrote about the king of Sarīr people: “He has 12,000 villages, from which he takes as many servants as he wishes”<sup>216</sup> He noted of the other people in the Caucasus, i.e. the Alans: “The Alan king (can) muster 30,000 horsemen. He is powerful, very strong and influential (among?) the kings.”<sup>217</sup>

214 *Murūj* II, 10–11; II<sup>2</sup>, 213–214; Minorsky 1958, 146–147; Pellat 1962, 162; Rotter 1978, 87–88; Kmoskó 1/2, 171.

215 *Murūj* II, 22–23; II<sup>2</sup>, 220–221; Minorsky 152–153; Pellat 1962, 166–167; Rotter 1978, 93; see Kmoskó 1/2, 176; Marquart 1903, 332–333.

216 *Murūj* II, 42; II<sup>2</sup>, 228; Minorsky 1958, 155; Pellat 1962, 172; Rotter 1978, 98; Kmoskó 1/2, 179.

217 *Murūj* II, 45; II<sup>2</sup>, 230; Minorsky 1958, 157; Pellat 1962, 173; Marquart 1903, 167; Kmoskó 1/2, 180.

Finally, al-Mas‘ūdī gave some figures concerning the Magyars. The term *Burghaz* was applied both the Volga and the Danube Bulgars, but in this case it means the Magyars: “This (?) king makes raids against Constantinople with an army of 50,000 horsemen or more, and sends his raiding parties in the same neighbourhood, to the countries of Rome, Andalus, the Burgundians (Burjan), the Galicians, and the Franks”<sup>218</sup> The Magyars made alliance with the Pechenegs and attacked Byzantium in 934, about which al-Mas‘ūdī noted: “They moved in a body against the city of Walandar with about 60,000 horsemen. This was without any mustering or levy. If there had been such, they would have amounted to about 100,000 horsemen. When news of them reached Romanos [Armānus = Romanos Lekapenos, 919–944], the present Byzantine Emperor, it being now A.H. 332 (= 943AD), he despatched against them 12,000 horsemen who had been converted to Christianity. These were armed with lances in the Arab fashion. They were supported by 50,000 Greeks.”<sup>219</sup> Later, he adds: “The number of the converted Christians and the Byzantines was many times superior to their enemies.”<sup>220</sup> In the account of the battle it is mentioned that the Magyar-Pecheneg horsemen were divided into units of a thousand and they shot arrows at the enemy, and 60,000 of the Byzantine army were killed.<sup>221</sup> The numbers given for the strength of the military is not consistent. The number of 50,000 Magyar warriors taking part in the campaign against Western Europe would correspond to the complete army, if we assume that the Pecheneg-Magyar alliance was able to mobilize 100,000 soldiers. In fact, the raiding army consisted of 60,000 men, and if the strength of the Magyar army in this campaign was half, this could be 30,000 men, contrary to the statement that the strength of the Byzantine army, 62,000 men (50,000 plus 12,000), and of the inhabitants of Walandar would have outnumbered the nomadic army several times. The authenticity of the report fails to corroborate the information that only two thousand men remained alive from the Byzantine army, with the rest massacred.

The details given for the peoples of Eastern Europe are summarized in the table:

218 *Murūj* II, 16; II<sup>2</sup>, 216; Minorsky 1958, 150; Pellat 1962, 164; Rotter 1978, 90; Kmoskó 1/2, 173; see Marquart 1903, 149–150.

219 *Murūj* II, 60; II<sup>2</sup>, 236; Dunlop 1954, 213; Rotter 1978, 104; Pellat 1962, 178.

220 *Murūj* II, 61; II<sup>2</sup>, 237; Rotter 1978, 104–105; Pellat 1962, 178.

221 *Murūj* II, 60–63; II<sup>2</sup>, 236–237; Kmoskó 1/2, 183–185; МЕН, 101–103; cf. Marquart 1903, 62–63; Pellat 1962, 178–179.



	Khazars	Burtas	Volga Bulgars	Sarīr	Alans	Magyars
Ibn Rusta	10,000	10,000	500 (000) *	20,000 *	1,000 Alan-Gate	20,000
al-Balkhī	12,000		10,000 *			2,000 *
Ibn Faḍlān			5,000 *			
al-Mas'ūdī	7,000			12,000 *	30,000	50/30,000

\* Data for the entire population.

Ludwig collected information on the military strength of the Khazars.<sup>222</sup> According to him, the Muslim sources of the 9th–10th centuries gave credible numbers. Ibn Rusta mentioned 10,000 lancers and armored horsemen of the Khazar ruler, some of which consisted of paid mercenaries, the others clients of the rich. Al-Iṣṭakhṛī noted that the army of the Khazar king was of 12,000 men, and nothing is known as to how they were paid, except that due to the low pay they had to find some other source of income. At the same time, al-Iṣṭakhṛī noticed that the guard consisted of four thousand men. According to al-Mas'ūdī, the mercenary army of the Khazar ruler came from Khwārazm and consisted of seven thousand archers and armored cavalry, supplemented by Rūs and Slavic mercenaries. When around 912 the Khazar army was mobilized against the Rūs, its strength reached 15,000 men. It is obvious from this information that the heavy cavalry, armed with bows, spears and armor, can be estimated at 10,000 and later 12,000 men directly available to the Khazar ruler. Four thousand men, and later seven thousand, formed the bodyguard of the ruler and were the nucleus of the army; the others were probably drawn from the clients of Khazar eminent. It was only the central unit of the Khazar army, because the peoples under Khagan rule were obliged to establish military contingents following nomadic army organization. Ibn Rusta wrote about Burtas that they gave 10,000 soldiers to the Khagan. If the other ethnic groups are taken into consideration, the Khazar Khaganate had as auxiliary troops 20,000 men from the Magyars, at least 10,000 soldiers from the Volga Bulgars, and other forces from the Alans and the Sarīr. It is altogether a numerically significant military force, so the strength of 40,000 men listed in the sources appears authentic.<sup>223</sup>

<sup>222</sup> Ludwig 1982, 213–223.

<sup>223</sup> Ludwig 1982, 286–293.

The composition of the nomadic army and the ratio of heavy and light cavalry was determined by the wealth of the community. As the maintenance of heavy cavalry was very costly, rich agricultural societies could afford it, while light cavalry could include virtually the entire male population of a nomadic society.<sup>224</sup> The core of the Khazar army was the heavy cavalry. Gardizī wrote about the Burtas that they had an army of 10,000 men, and later, he added: “Their weapons [consist of] two javelins, a battle ax and a bow, but they have no breastplate[s] or coat[s] of mail. Not everyone among them has a horse, but rather [only] that person who possesses much wealth.”<sup>225</sup> That is, the army of the Burtas consisted mainly of infantry and minor units of light cavalry. The archaeological research on Magyar weapons in the Carpathian Basin shows that the Magyars did not possess armored heavy cavalry.<sup>226</sup>

In determining the number of Volga Bulgars, the figure of Ibn Faḍlān’s is the starting point: the clan (*ahl bayt*) Baranjār counted five thousand men and women. The Jayhānī tradition, including Gardizī, recorded 500,000 households [*ahl bayt*]; similarly, al-Bakrī gave a figure of five hundred households for the Volga Bulgars. These numbers were probably taken from Ibn Faḍlān, but the the information was misunderstood; the size of the clan Baranjār was extended to the entire people and the term *ahl bayt* ‘family, household’ referred to people having a common ancestor; the numbers five hundred or 500,000 families were due to the inaccuracy of later authors.<sup>227</sup>

Al-Iṣṭakhrī quoted his information from a person who preached in the city Bulghār: the population of the two cities (Bulghār and Suwār) consisted of 10,000 people. According to Marquart the preacher could be Ibn Faḍlān,<sup>228</sup> in which case one city had a population of five thousand, equal to the number of the clan Baranjār, in which case this is not new information. The *Hudūd al-‘ālam* noted: “Bulghār, a town to which belongs a small province (*nāḥiyat*) on the bank of the river Ātil. The inhabitants are all Muslims. From (Bulghār) some 20,000 horsemen (*mard-i sawār*) come out who fight against any number (*bā har chand kī buwad*) of infidel troops and have the upper hand. The place is extremely (*sakht va bisyār*) pleasant. Suwār, a town near Bulghār. In it live fighters for the faith similar to (the people of) Bulghār.”<sup>229</sup> Minorsky ascer-

224 Christian 1998, 148.

225 Ḥabībī 1963, 273; Martínez 1982, 157; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 169.

226 Kovács 1994, 183–184; Révész 1996, 43–44.

227 Zimonyi 1990, 130.

228 Marquart 1924, 267.

229 Sotoodeh 1962, 195; Minorsky 1937, 163; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 220.

tained that this part was taken from the Balkhī tradition.<sup>230</sup> The anonymous author interpreted the Arabic word *al-nās* ‘people’ in his Persian text as *mard-i sawār* ‘horsemen’ and doubled the number.

The Russian Chronicles twice mentioned a Volga Bulgar army of six thousand in the second half of the 12th century. In 1172 Andrei Bogolyubskiy sent his son and other princes against the Volga Bulgars, and after they had occupied six villages and a town, they returned with prisoners of war. “As the Bulgars had noticed that Prince Mstislav came with a small army, they took up arms and six thousand men chased them.”<sup>231</sup> In 1184 Vselovod III, Grand Prince of Vladimir-Suzdal, besieged the capital of the Volga Bulgars. According to the Ipatiev Chronicle, a Volga Bulgar army of six thousand men was sent to relieve the siege of the capital.<sup>232</sup>

Julianus visited the territory of the Volga Bulgars in 1236, and stated upon going to a large city: “... in a large city in the country, which can set up 50,000 warriors ...”<sup>233</sup> Göckenjan presumed that the author may have meant the total strength of the Volga Bulgars.<sup>234</sup> The determination of the population of the Volga Bulgars is hardly possible due to the lack of precise data.

As for the Pechenegs who forced the Magyar tribal confederation to move to the Carpathian Basin, al-Bakrī mentioned 12,000 Muslim Pechenegs in connection with their conversion to Islam. They took up the fight successfully against twice as many pagan Pechenegs.<sup>235</sup> The Islamization is not corroborated, either by other sources or by archaeology. Pritsak estimated the number of Pechenegs on the basis of Byzantine sources. In 1048, John Skylitzes recorded 800,000 people living in eleven districts of the Pechenegs. Accordingly, the total population of a district was roughly 72,727 people, and every district could mobilize one *tümen*, i.e. 10,000 warriors. In the middle of the 10th century, Constantine Porphyrogenitus knew of forty districts, and if each district could support a *tümen*, the Pecheneg army consisted of 40 *tümen*, i.e. 400,000 men, from which the total population can be estimated at circa 2.8–3 million.<sup>236</sup> Pritsak’s figures thus appear exaggerated.

There are several data for the population of the Avars. Menander Protector noted that the Avars who fled from the Turks might have numbered 20,000 peo-

230 Minorsky 1937, 461.

231 PSRL I, 364, II, 564–565; Nikon chronicle: seven thousand warriors cf. PSRL 9, 247.

232 PSRL II, 626.

233 Dörrie 1956, 156; Göckenjan, Sweeney 1985, 78; Györfy 1986, 68.

234 Göckenjan, Sweeney 1985, 89, note 25.

235 Leeuwen, Ferre 1992, 445; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 223; Kmoskó 1/2, 253.

236 Pritsak 1975, 226–227; Golden 2002, 148.

ple.<sup>237</sup> In 578 Menander Protector recorded that the Byzantines helped 60,000 armored Avar horsemen cross the Danube.<sup>238</sup> In the year 626 a vanguard of 30,000 men was at the Avar Khagan's disposal during the siege of Constantinople.<sup>239</sup> Bóna estimated the early Avar army as 20,000 men, i.e. two *tümen*, plus the auxiliary military forces of subject peoples. In connection with the armored army of 60,000 men, Bóna preferred this figure divided by ten. The size of the Avar army that sieged Constantinople in 626 may have been 30,000 horsemen (three *tümens*). Bóna estimated the male population of the Avars at over 100,000 people, and the number of heavy cavalry with iron armor at perhaps one to three thousand men.<sup>240</sup> Bóna also made a remarkable calculation: the average size of the annual Byzantine gold tribute is estimated at 350 kg between 568 and 670, so if they had 20,000 warriors, each of them received 18 grams of gold annually. The tombs of Avar horsemen contain an average of about 10 grams, which can be regarded as normal.<sup>241</sup>

When reviewing the peoples of the Eastern European steppe, the figures of the great nomadic empires of Central Asia are worth mentioning. Gardīzī wrote of the Uygurs that thirty thousand horsemen mount up with the Uygur Khagan.<sup>242</sup> According to Tamīm ibn Baḥr, the Khagan of Tokuzoguz (Uygur) had twelve thousand warriors, and every chief of the seventeen tribes had thirteen thousand fighters, so that the total army of the Uygurs would be 233,000 strong. He also estimated the strength of the neighboring Kimäk king's army at twenty thousand horsemen.<sup>243</sup> The credibility of such information with large numbers of men can be illustrated with an example from Chinese sources. The Yearbook of the T'ang Dynasty reported that the strength of the attacking Uygur army was estimated at 100,000 men. It might be, based on the information of the scouts, that the army was four thousand strong and was accompanied by ten thousand family members and forty thousand horses.<sup>244</sup> The three *tümen* recorded by Gardīzī seems to be closer to the truth than the figure given by Tamīm ibn Baḥr. Golden recently estimated the total population of the Uygur Khaganate at 800,000 people.<sup>245</sup>

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237 Szádeczky-Kardoss 1998, 14.

238 Szádeczky-Kardoss 1998, 46.

239 Szádeczky Kardoss 1998, 174.

240 Bóna 1984, 320–321.

241 Bóna 1984, 324.

242 Ḥabībī 1963, 268; Martínez 1982, 135; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 146.

243 Minorsky 1948, 284.

244 Mackerras 1972, 70–71.

245 Golden 1992, 162.

Gardīzi noted of the tribal confederation of Türgäsh (the Western Turks) that twenty thousand men come out from there.<sup>246</sup>

The Türk Khaganate was a large empire extending from Mongolia to the Crimea in the 6th–8th centuries. Liu Mau-tsai collected the figures for the size of the army given in Chinese sources and summarized the data in tabular form. The number of Turk warriors fluctuated between 10,000 and 400,000, and of 138 Türk attacks listed data were given on the strength of the raiding armies in 23 cases. The numbers 100,000 and 10,000 were mentioned seven times each, the number 1,000 occurred three times, and figures of 400,000 and 150,000 warriors were recorded twice each. Only once appeared the figures of 16,000 and 50,000 men.<sup>247</sup> In addition, the passage from the time of Qapgan Khagan (691–716) for the year 699 contains relevant data: the little Khagan had forty thousand warriors, and the right and left *šad* each had an army of twenty thousand.<sup>248</sup>

The Turkic runic inscriptions reflect much different figures. The Kül-Tegin inscription noted the foundation of the Second Türk Khaganate: “My father, the kagan, went off with seventeen men. Having heard the news that [Elteriš] was marching off, those who were in towns went up mountains and those who were in mountains came down (from there); thus they gathered and numbered seventy men. Due to the fact that Heaven granted strength, the soldiers of my father, the kagan, were like wolves, and his enemies were like sheep. Having gone on campaigns forward and backward, he gathered together and collected men; they all numbered seven hundred men. After they had numbered seven hundred men, (my father, the kagan) organized and ordered the people who had lost their state and their kagan, ...”<sup>249</sup> These figures are obviously mythological, but it proves that an army of seven hundred men already represented a significant enough force to found an empire (*el*). According to Chinese sources, Elteriš attacked the Nine Tribes with five thousand men and took the title of *kagan* after the victory.<sup>250</sup> In the Kül Tegin inscription there is another concrete figure: the Chinese military leader, Ong Tutuq, attacked Kül Tegin at the head of five *tümen* (ten thousand).<sup>251</sup> The Tonyukuk inscription also contains some figures. For the foundation of the second empire it is reported: “Those who had remained in woods and wilderness came together and amounted to seven hundred. Two-thirds of them were mounted, a (third)

246 Ḥabībī 1963, 279; Martínez 1982, 143; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 189.

247 Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 433–439.

248 Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 163–164, 429.

249 Tekin 1968, 265; Berta 2004, 146–147, 194–195.

250 Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 158.

251 Tekin 1968, 268; Berta 2004, 158–159, 197.

part was on foot.”<sup>252</sup> The leader of the 700 men was the *šad*, who took the title *kagan* with the help of Tonyukuk; he was Elteriš. The Chinese, the Kitans and the Oguz made an alliance against the Turks. “I wonder whether we in all have two or three thousand troops to come from the Qitans in the east, from the Chinese in the south, from the western (Turks) in the west, and from the Oguz in the north? Thus made I my representation (to him). My kagan deigned to listen to the representation which (I myself), Bilge Tonyukuk, made (to him). ‘Lead (the army) according to your own will!’ he said. Having waded Kök Öng, I led (them) toward the Ötüken Mountains. With carts drawn by oxen the Oguz came from the Toyla. (Their army) probably consisted of (three thousand men?); we were two thousand. We fought. Heaven favoured us: we put them to rout. They were poured into the river. Those who were put to rout were also killed on the way (while trying to escape). Then the Oguz came together (= submitted). It was myself, Bilge Tonyukuk, who (had led) the Turkish kagan and the Turkish people to the Ötüken land. Having heard the news that (the Turks) settled themselves in the Ötüken land, there came all the peoples who were living in the south, in the west, in the north and in the east (and submitted us). We were two thousand and we had (two) armies ...”<sup>253</sup> Later, in connection with his campaign against the Western Turks Tonyukuk mentioned that their army was ten *tümen* strong. Tonyukuk undertook a surprise attack on the enemy and defeated them, in spite of the fact that “Their two wings were about half again as many as we.”<sup>254</sup> These data show that a nomadic army of several thousand men was regarded as a significant military force.<sup>255</sup>

The Chinese *Sui-shu* listed the six *T'ieh-lê* tribal confederations in the 7th century giving their names, geographical setting and the size of their armies. The first group lived north of the river Tola, consisting of nine tribes and having twenty thousand soldiers. The second people lived west of Hami and north of Qarashahr; they had ten tribes and twenty thousand warriors as well. The third confederation, having four tribes, lived southwest of the Altai Mountains, and their army was ten thousand strong; the fourth, north of Samarqand, had ten tribes and thirty thousand soldiers. The fifth group lived close to the Caspian Sea and the Aral Sea and consisted of four tribes possessing eight thousand warriors. The sixth can be localized east of Byzantium, having six tribes and an army twenty thousand strong.<sup>256</sup>

252 Tekin 1968, 283; Rybatzki 1997, 82.

253 Tekin 1968, 284–285; Rybatzki 1997, 95–96, 99–100.

254 Tekin 1968, 288; Rybatzki 1997, 113–115.

255 Pritsak 1988, 749–750, 765–767.

256 Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 127–128; Ligeti 1986, 333–334.

Finally, mention must be made of the size of the Mongol army attacking Europe in 1236. C. De Bridia reported that Ögödei sent one-third of the Mongol army against the Western countries. In 1227, at the time of Genghis Khan's death, the Mongol army was estimated at 129,000 men.<sup>257</sup> In addition, Julianus noted that the Mongol army consisted of 135,000 Mongol warriors and 260,000 servants of the auxiliary troops.<sup>258</sup> The Mongolian army attacking Eastern Europe can be estimated at about a hundred thousand men, of which the genuine Mongol force might have been three or four *tümen*.<sup>259</sup> Kristó estimated the Mongol army at 150,000 men, and the main army led by Batu at 60,000 men.<sup>260</sup> There is a statement that the Hungarian army outnumbered that of the Mongols at the decisive battle in the vicinity of Muhi, so the size of the army of Béla IV, the Hungarian king, must have been 60–70,000 men. However, the counties of the Hungarian kingdom could field only half of this number in the middle of the 12th century. These numbers have to be reduced significantly in order to approximate to the actual data.<sup>261</sup>

The credibility of the figures of the Muslim geographical literature in the 9th and 10th centuries is corroborated by data on the sizes of the Chinese and Byzantine army. Gardīzī estimated the Chinese army at 400,000 men,<sup>262</sup> and the Muslim prisoner of war al-Jarmī reported that the Byzantine Empire had an army of 120,000 men.<sup>263</sup>

According to the report of the Jewish traveler Ibrāhīm ibn Ya‘qūb, which is narrated by al-Bakrī, the Polish Prince Miesko had three thousand armored warriors.<sup>264</sup> This made the Polish kingdom a significant power in medieval Europe.

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257 Martin 1949, 47–48.

258 Dörrie 1956, 182; Göckenjan, Sweeney 1985, 109, 124–125; Györffy 1986, 82.

259 Göckenjan 1991, 38–39 notes 36–38.

260 According to C. De Bridia Batu sent ten thousand armed men to Poland under the leadership of Orda (Györffy 1986, 194).

261 Kristó 1984, 1427–1428.

262 Ḥabībī 1963, 269; Martínez 1982, 137; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 152; cf. Eberhard 1971, 256; Gernet 2001, 198–201, 212, 245–246.

263 Al-Jarmī's text has been preserved in the works of Ibn Khurdādhbih, Qudāma and Ibn Faqīh (BGA VI, 109–111, 255–259; BGA IV, 145; Kmoskó 1/1, 114–115, 139, 163–165). Treadgold studied the report and compared it with contemporary Byzantine details, and determined that the information was accurate. The author, a prisoner of war in Byzantium between 837 and 845, reported in detail on the organization and structure of the Byzantine army, the classifications of the soldiers, their units, their places of residence and their numbers (Treadgold 1995, 64–75).

264 Leeuwen, Ferre 1992, 333; Kowalski 1946, 50, 89–90; Mishin 1996, 187; Kmoskó 1/2, 243–244.

The figure of twenty thousand men for the military strength of the Magyars in the 9th and 10th centuries has been considered authentic.<sup>265</sup> It is usually compared with the information on the Magyars from the time of the campaigns against Byzantium and Europe in the first half of the 10th century and the calculations for the army of the Hungarian kingdom at the end of the 12th century. According to Györffy, the seven Magyar tribes plus the three Kabar tribes consisted of fifty clans, and each of them fielded four hundred horsemen. In determining the size of the Magyar tribes and clans, Györffy used Constantine Porphyrogenitus' report on the Pechenegs that the eight tribes are divided into forty clans<sup>266</sup> and Ioannes Kinnamos' figure for the strength of the Hungarian army in 1167.<sup>267</sup> In the 12th century the fifty counties of the Hungarian kingdom could field twenty thousand warriors, i.e. each county had a unit of four hundred men.<sup>268</sup>

The size of the Magyar forces taking part in the raids against Europe is hard to determine. According to Györffy, at the battle of Lechfeld in 955 the army of Otto, the king of Germania, was between ten and twenty thousand men, while the Magyar army was twenty thousand strong.<sup>269</sup> Kristó estimated the Magyar army in this battle at ten thousand men.<sup>270</sup> Borosy assumed on the basis of the account of al-Mas'ūdī that the military strength of the Magyar army was twenty thousand men without mobilization and could even reach thirty thousand.<sup>271</sup> However, al-Mas'ūdī reported that the Pecheneg and Magyar army was sixty thousand without mobilization in 934. Kellner made an attempt to estimate the size of the German and Magyar forces in 955: the German king Otto had eight legions, which might have been about four thousand warriors. As for the size of the Magyar army, he noted that a Magyar army of 1,500 men besieged Augsburg, and the military strength of the Magyars was four to five thousand men in the campaigns against Bulgaria in 895 and against the Frank Liutpold in 900, on the basis of the sources. In 934 three hundred Magyar horsemen escorted five hundred Greek prisoners of war. Accordingly, a relatively small force was strong enough to attack a fortified place, such as a monastery.<sup>272</sup>

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265 Kristó 1995, 131–132; Borosy 1992, 27.

266 DAI, 167.

267 Moravcsik 1984, 242.

268 Györffy 1977, 17, 450.

269 Györffy 1984, 689–690.

270 Kristó 1995, 136–137.

271 Borosy 1992, 27.

272 Kellner 1997, 112–123.



In the second half of the 12th century the Hungarian army can be estimated at between twenty and thirty thousand men, while for the Hungarian forces of King Béla IV that fought against the Mongols in the battle of Muhi in 1241, which were formerly calculated as sixty to seventy thousand men, Borosy preferred a figure of twenty thousand.<sup>273</sup>

The nomadic tradition was obviously decisive in the formation of the Hungarian military organization. The military units of the Turkish and Mongol peoples in the steppe were built up in a decimal system. The army was formed on the basis of units of ten, one hundred, one thousand and ten thousand men, which is well known in other cultures (e.g. the Roman Empire). The Turkic word for 'ten thousand' is *tümen*.<sup>274</sup> In this case, the Hungarians copied not only the military organization but the word itself, as the Turkic word *tümen* was borrowed in the form of the Hungarian words *tömény* 'many, ten thousand', and *töméntelen* 'innumerable'.<sup>275</sup>

One of the bases of the nomadic polity was the military service of the subjugated peoples on behalf of the ruler, i.e. the khagan. This system is known in detail from the Mongol period. Plano Carpini wrote about the Mongols: "Here is what the Tartars ask from them: that they join the army with them against anyone whenever the Tartars wish,<sup>276</sup> and that they give a tenth of everything they have, both people and property."<sup>277</sup> The auxiliary military function of the tribal confederations is well known in earlier steppe empires. Constantine Porphyrogenitus reported of the Magyars: "fought alliance with the Khazars in all their wars" as a military auxiliary of the Khazar Khagan.<sup>278</sup> The Pechenegs, Cumans and Székely played a similar role in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary.<sup>279</sup> The peoples of a nomadic empire were organized according to the

273 Borosy 1992, 29–30.

274 Doerfer ТМЭН II, 983; Göckenjan 1980, 85.

275 TESZ III, 962; Györfly 1997, 20; Róna-Tas, Berta 2011, 932–934.

276 The system of military recruitment appeared in the tax list of 1257–1259 in the Golden Horde. At that time the tax was imposed according to the decimal system. At the head of each military and administrative district the chiefs had the titles *desyatskie*, *sotniki tysackie*, *temniki* 'corporal, captain, colonel, general.' The largest unit *tümen* ~ *t'man* corresponded the Russian word *volost* 'district' (Allsen 1987, 209).

277 Hildinger 1996, 79; Györfly 1986, 138; Gießauf 1995, 190. The Mongols imposed the tithe on newly conquered areas. In 1237 Batu levied the tithe as a tax on men and horses in the Principality of Ryazan (Allsen 1987, 145). The Mongols levied the tithe in other Russian regions, for which the Russian word was *desyatina* (Novgorod 1257). The term *popluzhnoe* was used for agricultural areas, a word deriving from *plug* 'plow' (Allsen 1987, 157–158).

278 DAI, 171; Belke, Soustal 1995, 189; Zimonyi 1997, 462–464.

279 Göckenjan 1972.

decimal system to go to war, as is reflected in the Terkh inscription: (N1): *qan aruq oghuz bodun altı yüz sängüt bir tüzän bodun qazghantı* “The Khan conquered and captured the tired Oguz tribes. He won (from them) one hundred generals and ten thousand (*tümen*) men (i.e. warriors).”<sup>280</sup> Al-Jayhānī may have recorded the military strength of the Khazars, Burtas and Magyars in ten thousands. The Magyars could field two *tümens* in the decades before 895. However, it is often not obvious whether *tümen* really referred to ten thousand warriors, as implied by the etymology. The state organization of the Hsiung-nu was described in Chapter 110 of the *Shih-chi*: “Among the other leaders, from the wise kings on down to the household administrators, the more important ones command ten thousand horsemen and the lesser ones several thousand, numbering twenty-four leaders in all, though all are known by the title ‘Ten Thousand Horsemen’”<sup>281</sup> Allsen collected the data on *tümen* from the Chinese and Tibetan sources in the Mongol period. There existed three categories of *tümen* in the Chinese sources: a large *tümen* consisted of a minimum of seven thousand men, the medium at least five thousand men, and a small one not less than three thousand men; however, the actual number might have been smaller in less densely populated areas, e.g. Tibet had to set up eleven *tümen* in 1268, and one *tümen* averaged 2,818 men.<sup>282</sup> On the basis of Muslim statements concerning the struggles between the Ilkhanid and the Mamluks, Amitai also considered that a *tümen* did not necessarily mean ten thousand warriors.<sup>283</sup>

In summary, the twenty thousand warriors of the Magyar army can be reconstructed as two *tümen*, but it is difficult to decide how many warriors were in fact in the army. Before the 13th century only vague data are available. The army of twenty thousand men can be regarded as the basis for estimating the population. The Magyar population around 895 has been estimated at between one hundred thousand and five hundred thousand.<sup>284</sup>

In any case, in the light of contemporary conditions it was a stable tribal confederation. The Magyar army had an effective military capability and its strength corresponded to that of the Avars, who took possession of the Carpathian Basin before them, and the three *T'ieh-lê* tribal groups that consisted of six, nine and ten tribes, as well as the tribal groups of Western Türks called the

280 Tekin 1983, 51; Pritsak 1988, 765–766.

281 Barfield 1981, 48; 1992, 38; Ligeti, MNyTK 11, 149.

282 Allsen 1987, 193–194.

283 Amitai 2002, 236.

284 One person from a family of five persons or one warrior from five families: Kristó 1995, 129–137.



lent *sālār*, while the Arabic word *malik* is translated as ‘king.’ Shukrallāh used the word ‘*amīr*’ and its Turkish equivalent is *pādshāh*, both meaning ‘ruler’ here. The Turkish text of Muḥammad Kātīb includes *serwer* ‘chief, prince, head’ and *safder* ‘hero, brave,’ both being of Persian origin.

Ibn Rusta applied the designation *malik* to the following Eastern European sovereigns: the two Khazar rulers,<sup>286</sup> though the term *raʿīs* is also found in the sense of the first ruler; the Volga Bulgar Almish;<sup>287</sup> the Slavs have *raʿīs al-ruʿasā* ‘prince of princes’ and his deputy (*khalīfa*), but the word *malik* is also found in connection with the first ruler;<sup>288</sup> the Rūs Khāqān and the rulers of Sarīr and the Alans are described as *malik*.<sup>289</sup> The Burtas have no ruler (*raʿīs*) but were subject to the king of the Khazars, but at the head of every settlement was a sheikh (*shaykh*).<sup>290</sup>

### *The Interpretation of the Word shiʿār*

The meaning of the word *shiʿār* connected with the king *k.nd.h* is vague in the texts of both Ibn Rusta and al-Marwazī. Gardīzī translated the Arabic sentence *hādhā-l-ism shiʿār (li)malikihim* into Persian as *īn nām malik-i bozorktar-i īshān āst*, which without doubt means ‘greater king.’ The Arabic word *shiʿār* has the following meanings: ‘a sign of people in war and in journey; a call or cry by means of which to know one another; a sign that is set up in order that a man may know his companion; banners, standards of tribes.’<sup>291</sup> It may be translated by the expressions ‘watchword, symbol, distinguishing mark, emblem.’ Al-Bīrūnī recorded in his book *Chronology of ancient nations*: “The distinguishing sign (*shiʿār*) of the Abbasids is black.”<sup>292</sup> Al-Balādhurī used the expression *shiʿār* meaning ‘war-cry’: “The war-cry of Ibn Khāzim was ‘Hāma! They shall not win the victory!’ and that of Sulaymān was ‘Ho! The victory of Allah is nigh!’”<sup>293</sup> Ibn Hishām wrote in the biography of the Prophet: “In the Battles of the Trench and Banū Qurayza, the Muslims’ cry (*shiʿār*) was *Hā Mīm*. They will not be helped.”<sup>294</sup>

286 BGA VII, 139; *khāqān, īshā*.

287 BGA VII, 141.

288 BGA VII, 144.

289 BGA VII, 145, 147, 148.

290 BGA VII, 140.

291 Lane IV, 1561; see T. Fahd, *Shiʿār*: EI<sup>2</sup> IX, 424.

292 Sachau 1897, 329; 1923, 331.

293 Murgotten 1924, 178; see Kmoskó 1/1, 207, note 823.

294 Sirāt Ibn Hishām, 172; Simon 1987, 492.

Czeglédy translated the word *shi'ār* as 'nominal title' using the secondary meaning of 'symbol, distinguishing mark,' which was followed by Zahoder and Lewicki.<sup>295</sup> Wiet interpreted Ibn Rusta's phrase differently: the word *kandah* was merely the war-cry of their king, because his real title was *djalah*, assuming two different names or titles of a single ruler.<sup>296</sup> The Arabic text is equivocal as to whether it refers either to two names or titles of a single ruler or to two rulers in different positions. Nevertheless, in context the latter seems preferable. Minorsky translated the parallel passage, which differs somewhat grammatically, of al-Marwazī: "this name being the distinction of their king."<sup>297</sup> Gardīzī's text is *malik-i buzurgtar* 'greater king,' while al-Bakrī applied the term *sima* 'sign, mark, stigma, distinction' in connection with *k.nd.h*. The interpretation of distinguishing sign is widely accepted as meaning that the *k.nd.h* was the higher and symbolic title of the two rulers, representing the unity of the Magyar tribal confederation, while the real power was in the hands of the second ruler.

### *The Magyar King Kündä*

The form كنده *k.nd.h* could reflect an original Hungarian *kündä* or *kändä*. There are personal and place names in the medieval Hungarian sources associated with the title: *Cundu* = *Kündü*, *Cund-Kund* = *Künd*, the name of a Hungarian tribal chief circa 895, the time of conquest of the Carpathian Basin; and the place names *Kend*, *Kendi* and medieval personal names: *Kende*, *Kendeffy*.<sup>298</sup> In the 13th century, the place name *Kék-kend* 'blue-kend' was the name of a group that served as border guards.<sup>299</sup> Györffy interpreted the attribute 'blue' as a symbol of the color of the sky, and thus as a symbol of the ruler, on analogy with Turkic and Mongolian parallels; however, Ligeti preferred another explanation: the name of the forest where the group called *Kend* lived was *Kékes*.<sup>300</sup>

The Hungarian title *kündä* ~ *kändä* comes from the Khazar language. This title is found in the name of a military leader of Khazar origin who served in

295 MÓT, 214; MEH, 86; Zahoder 1967, 47; Lewicki 11/2, 33.

296 "Leur chef, qui peut lever environ 20 000 cavaliers, se nomme Kandah, mais ce n'est qu'un mot cri de guerre de leur prince, car véritable son nom est Djalah." Wiet 1955, 160.

297 Ibn Rusta: شعار ملكهم 'symbol of their king,' while al-Marwazī: شعار الملكهم 'symbol of one of their kings.' Minorsky 1942, 35.

298 SRH I, 41, 95, 166, 288, 29; Györffy 1959, 151–153.

299 *Siluam quandam nomine Keykus, que olim populorum qui vulgo Keyquend dicuntur fuerat* (Györffy 1959, 151).

300 Györffy 1959, 153–154; Göckenjan 1972, 27–35; Ligeti MNyTK II, 462–465.

the court of the Abbasids: *Ishāq ibn Kundājīq/Kundāj al-Khazarī* was governor of Mosul between 880–891. This is an Arabic name of the form *kündäčik ~ kündäč*.<sup>301</sup> Al-Mas'ūdī recorded a similar form of the name in the description of the Alans: “Then follows the kingdom of the Alans (al-Lān)<sup>302</sup> whose king is called *K.rk.ndāj*;<sup>303</sup> which is the common name of all their kings, just as *Fīlān-shāh* is the name of all kings of the Sarīr.”<sup>304</sup> Based on a Turkish form *kār kündäč*, Minorsky reconstructed the first element of the Turkic word as *kār*, as in *kār-bughā* and *kār-balīq*; the second element is identical with the name of the above-mentioned Khazar commander and the Hungarian king.<sup>305</sup> The title of the ruler in Alan reflected a later stage and other tradition in the description of al-Mas'ūdī, as al-Jayhānī recorded that the king of the Alans had the Turkic title *Bagatur*.<sup>306</sup>

Ibn Faḍlān, describing the hierarchy of the Khazar rulers, mentioned that the great Khāqān is the supreme ruler and his viceroy is the Khāqān Beh, who governed the empire. As for the third position, Ibn Faḍlān wrote: “The Khaqan Beh is represented by [another] man who is called K.nd.r [Kündü] Khāqān, ...”<sup>307</sup> This part of the report is absent in the Mashhad manuscript, only being preserved by Yāqūt in the 13th century.<sup>308</sup> Ligeti pointed out that the Mongolian word *kündü* (کندو *k.ndū*) ‘weight; heavy, ponderous; grave, grievous,’ and the basis for the verb *kündüle*- ‘to honor, respect,’ the adjective *kündütü* ‘respected,’ was written in the form *k.nd.r* (کندر) in the Arabic-script quadrilingual dictionary of Yemen. In Arabic script the letter *w/ū* can easily be confused with *r* at the end of a word, thereby justifying the emendation *k.ndū*, to be read as *kündü*.<sup>309</sup> According to Ligeti, the Khazar title had two forms: *kündü* (*k.nd.r* = *k.ndū*) and *kündä* (*kündäčik ~ kündäč*). The *k.nd.h* (کنده) form in the Jayhānī tradition can be read only *künde* or *kende*. The Hungarian *kündü* cannot be derived from these forms due to the word-final *-e*, but *kündä* is without doubt the correct form, as it is attested in the Khazar names *Kündäčik ~ Kündäč*. The

301 The word *kündä* plus the diminutive suffix *-čik* or *-č*, Golden 1980, 202–204; 2002–2003, 20–21; cf. EI<sup>2</sup> IV, 89–90, VI, 900.

302 Yāqūt quoted a part under the keyword Allan from the *Murūj* (Wüstenfeld I, 351).

303 Yāqūt: *Karkundāh*.

304 *Murūj* II, 42; II<sup>2</sup>, 228; Minorsky 1958, 156; Rotter 1978, 98; Kmoskó 1/2, 179, note 167; Pellat 1962, 173.

305 Minorsky 1958, 156, note 1.

306 BGA VII, 148; Kmoskó 1/1, 216; Golden 1980, 155–156; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 94, note 202.

307 Togan 1939, 99, 260; Frye 2005, 75; MEH, 97; Canard 1958, 85; Kovalevskiy 1956, 146.

308 Golden 1980, 200.

309 Golden 1980, 200–202.

Jayhānī tradition might have recorded this title either directly from the Khazars or through the Hungarians, as it can be detected in two variants in the Khazar language and both Khazar forms were borrowed into Hungarian.<sup>310</sup>

### *The King Gyula*

The name of the king who conducted the affairs of the state can be reconstructed as *Gila*. Constantine Porphyrogenitus wrote in *De administrando imperio*: “They have for their first chief the prince who comes by succession of Arpad’s family, and two others, the gylas (yila) and the karchas (karχα), who have the rank of judge, and each clan has a prince. Gylas and karchas are no proper names, but dignities ... karchas is a dignity like gylas, which is superior to karchas.”<sup>311</sup> Other Byzantine sources recorded the titles in the same forms as personal names.<sup>312</sup> The Greek form γυλας is read as *yila* and interpreted as *gyila*. The medieval Hungarian sources recorded this title only in personal names: Anonymus (c. 1200): *Gyyla*, *Gyla* [= *Gyila*], *Geula*; Simonis de Kéza (c. 1280): *Iula*; the Chronicle Composition of the 14th century: *Iula*, *Gyula* [= *Gyula*].<sup>313</sup> The forms *Gyila* and *Gyula* occurred in the medieval Hungarian sources, but later *Gyula* prevailed. The earlier Hungarian *Gyila* reflected in the Byzantine and Muslim sources was copied from the Khazar title *Jila*; the same word can be found in the second part of a Pecheneg tribal name, Χαβουξιγγυλά *Qabuqšin+yila*.<sup>314</sup> Zahoder argued that the titles of rulers in the third and fourth places of the Khazar hierarchy as given by Ibn Faḍlān may be compared with Hungarian *künde* and *gyula*.<sup>315</sup>

### *Dual Kingship*

The institution of sacred dual kingship/diarchy within the Hungarian tribal confederation is based on the description of the Jayhānī tradition, and this type of government was borrowed from the practice of the Khazar empire.<sup>316</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus mentioned in the chapter on the origins of the Magyars that their first prince was Levedi, who received a Khazar wife for

310 Ligeti 1986, 254, 484.

311 DAI, 179; Belke, Soustal 1995, 196–197.

312 Moravcsik, BT II, 115.

313 SRH I, 6, 24, 27, 166, 426, 494.

314 Moravcsik, BT II, 332; Ligeti 1986, 253–254, 484–485; MNYTK II, 465–467.

315 Zahoder 1962, 227–228. The third title is acceptable. The fourth title is *Jāvshigh.r* (Togan 1939, 99, 260–261; Golden 1980, 191–192). The identification and etymology of the fourth title in the hierarchy is still debated; it cannot be connected with the Hungarian title *Gyula*.

316 Czeplédy, MÓT, 210–216; 1966, 14–26.

his service to the Khazar Khaqan. After being defeated by the Kangars the Khazar Khaqan invited him to his court and wanted to appoint him the ruler of the Magyars, but he did not accept, instead recommending another chieftain, Álmos, or his son Árpád. The latter was appointed.<sup>317</sup> The chronicle of *Georgius Monachus continuatus* recorded that the Byzantine emperor sent the legation of Nicetas Sclerus to the lower Danube to meet two princes of the Magyars, Árpád and Kusanes, in 894/5. The Byzantines hired the Magyars to attack the Bulgar Symeon.<sup>318</sup> The institution of diarchy among the Magyars is well attested in the Muslim and Byzantine sources, and the first Magyar ruler Levedi may have had a title *künde* that was inherited by his successors, the princes Álmos and Árpád.

Györffy, on the other hand, developed a different concept, whose cornerstone is the phrase *Cundu pater Curzan* in the *Gesta Hungarorum* of Anonymus, 'the father of Curzan': Cundu was one of the seven chieftains leading the Magyars when they conquered the Carpathian Basin in 895.<sup>319</sup> If the Kusanes in the Byzantine source is identical with the Curzan of the Latin author and both terms refer to a Magyar prince and one of the seven chieftains, the father referred to as Kündü would be Levedi, the first ruler of the Magyar tribal confederation. This would mean that Álmos and his son Árpád could only have held the title Gyula until the conquest of the Carpathian Basin in 895.<sup>320</sup> Kristó could not accept this new theory and preferred the traditional view, as the names Curzan, Kusanes, and Chussal cannot be connected with each other according to the history of the Hungarian language. Moreover, and most importantly, the Chronicle Composition of the 14th century mentioned that Álmos was killed in Transylvania because he was not allowed to enter the new homeland, Pannonia.<sup>321</sup> This can be regarded as a murder of the sacral ruler, which was in fact a practice of the nomadic empires. The sacral king was murdered either after a predetermined period of reign or in the event the empire was hit by a natural disaster or suffered a severe military defeat, which was taken as a sign that, as the ruler was unable to fulfill his function, the harmony of the world was disrupted, i.e. his relationship with the celestial power had deteriorated and the existence of the community was threatened. If Álmos had held the title of *künde*, his son Árpád could inherit it.<sup>322</sup>

317 DAI, 170–173; Belke, Soustal 1995, 187–191.

318 Moravcsik 1984, 59.

319 SRH I, 41, 95; HKÍF 287, 332.

320 Györffy 1959, 127–160; 1993, 220–224.

321 SRH I, 287; HKÍF 359.

322 Kristó 1993, 43–47; 1996, 84–86; 1996b, 201–203.



It is worth mentioning, however, that this solution raises other problems. The composition alludes to the biblical tradition: the Lord showed Moses the land of Israel, but he was not allowed to enter it (Moses v, 32, 52; 34, 4). If Álmos had the title of *künde*, his son Árpád could have been appointed after the ritual sacrifice of Álmos prior to the conquest of the Carpathian Basin, which contradicts the events mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Róna-Tas resolved the contradiction by suggesting that Levedi, the first known prince, was *künde* and the second prince, having a military function, was Álmos or his son Árpád; after Levedi and his clan lost power, the second prince took the power to unite the sacral and military functions, and Kusal or Kusan could have belonged to the clan of Álmos and was perhaps the brother of Árpád.<sup>323</sup> Bóna proposed that Álmos must have been the *künde*, while Árpád had the title *gyula* and Curzan may have been the *horoka*, the third title, according to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, but after the ritual murder of Álmos in 895, Árpád inherited his father's title and Curzan was proclaimed *gyula*.<sup>324</sup> Berta studied the etymology of the name Álmos and concluded that its meaning was 'shaman, a person in trance,' which can be connected with his position, the sacral ruler, i.e. the *künde*.<sup>325</sup>

Róna-Tas has pointed out that the issue of sacral kingship cannot be mixed with the question of dual kingship. The sacral kingship can be regarded in all cases as diarchy, but not just any form of dual power is to be interpreted as sacral kingship.<sup>326</sup> Pohl investigated the problem of dual kingship *à propos* the Avar diarchy of Khagan and Yugurush. There are several examples of diarchies among steppe peoples: the Huns,<sup>327</sup> Türks, Khazars, Magyars, Danube Bulgars,<sup>328</sup> Oguz and Karakhanids. As for the early Magyars, Pohl noted that the Muslim sources reflected some sort of sacred dual kingship; nevertheless, Constantine Porphyrogenitus described a kind of triumvirate (great prince, *gyula*, *karcha*). Pohl eventually came to the conclusion that the

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323 Róna-Tas 1996, 270–271; 1999, 344–345.

324 Bóna 2000, 27–28.

325 Berta, 2001, 113–114.

326 Róna-Tas 1996, 269; 1999, 342–343.

327 Schäfer supposed that the dual kingship among the Huns had no institutional background, the different forms of dual rule reflecting the momentary balance of power within the dynasty (Schäfer 1998, 172–174). In addition, Schäfer has studied the religious, judicial, military, and diplomatic functions of the Hun kings and the royal monopoly on taxes and trade, as well as the institutions of the monarchy, including the royal family, the tribal leaders, the tribal aristocracy, and the royal retinue (Schäfer 1998, 174–231, 2001, 19–27).

328 On dual kingship among the Danubian Bulgars see Beševliev 1981, 338–341.

division of power was due to several causes, perhaps related to the organizational problems of nomadic empires.

First, the nomads extended their domination over vast areas that were hard to control. An effective government demanded the division of military and administrative functions. Members of the ruling dynasty received positions with various titles over various parts of the empire, which fostered independence. Second, the division of the empire and the formation of independent successor states was further promoted by the problem of succession to the throne among the heirs, which could cause a bitter struggle for supremacy. The conflict was often resolved by the division of the empire. Third, the steppe empires often united several ethnic and political groups that had been taken into the kingdom as intact units. In general, the ruler of a subject people accepted dependence on the *khagan*, who assigned a governor for the tribal confederacy. When the central government weakened and the tribal confederation became independent, a dual kingship could evolve. Pohl cited as an example the Magyars, whose prince was the third man of the Khazar royal hierarchy. Fourth, a highly regarded and able nobleman might seize power due to the weakness of the ruling dynasty while retaining the legal king as a representative of charismatic power. The latter category includes the Danube Bulgars, the Khazars, and the Avars among the nomads, but it is a common phenomenon: the Carolingians acted as *major domus* of the Merovingians, the Japanese shoguns held a similar position with respect to the Japanese emperor, and the Turk emirs played the same role in the court of the Caliphate.<sup>329</sup>

Márton has pointed out that the institution of the sacred dual kingship, which occurred among the Turks, the Khazars and the Magyars, was not a typical character of nomadic polity inherited by the successor states, i.e. the Magyars took over it from the Khazars, who imitated the Türk Khaganate. A comparison of the Türk polity with that of the Khazars proves just the opposite: The majority of the Türk Khagans held both the charismatic and the military and political power in their own hands, but the Khazar Khagans gradually faded in power, so that the sacred sphere was separated from the actual power in a prolonged process and finally lost all connection with authority in the real world. The emergence and formation of the sacred dual power was in fact a long historical process, and the Magyar dual kingship was not a copy of the Khazar pattern but rather a complex answer to the challenges of the formation of the Magyar tribal confederacy.<sup>330</sup>

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329 Pohl 1998, 293–300.

330 Márton 1997, 72–78.

Al-Jayhānī had a keen interest in the political affairs of the peoples of Eastern Europe, among whom the dual kinship appeared in several cases. As for the Khazars, Ibn Rusta noted: “They have a king who is called Īshā. The Supreme King is the Khazar Khagan. He does not enjoy the obedience of the Khazars, but has the name only. The power of command belongs to the Īshā, since in regard to control and the armies he is so placed that he does not have to care for anyone above him.”<sup>331</sup> The Khazar dual kingship was described in detail in the respective passages of the Muslim geographical literature.<sup>332</sup> As for the Slavs, Ibn Rusta recorded: “Their king is *Sūbanj*, whom they obey and act according to his command. His residence is in the center of the country of Ṣaqāliba. The renowned and famous among them is called ‘prince of princes,’ whom they call *Swyt mlk*; he is more powerful than the *Sūbanj* and the *Sūbanj* is his deputy. This king owns horses, his only food is what is milked from them (mares).”<sup>333</sup> Consequently, there was also dual kingship among the Slavs. Ibn Rusta recorded in the chapter on the Rūs that their ruler held the title *khagan*, but later added: “They have physicians, some of whom have authority even over their king similar to gods. They order them to sacrifice to their Creator a desirable woman, man or horse. When the physicians give the verdict, they have no choice but to execute the command: the physician seizes a man or an animal, throws a rope around his neck and hangs him/it in timber until he gives up the soul. They say: This is a sacrifice to God.”<sup>334</sup> The charismatic authority of the ruler of Rūs was restricted in some areas, and he had to accept the authority of the magicians in those cases. Judging from these data, al-Jayhānī had a keen interest in the forms of governance and decision-making, which was of crucial importance for politics, diplomacy, and commerce.

In addition, al-Jayhānī might have had a special sensibility in this respect, as he himself ruled as the guardian for the underage Samanid emir. The issue is further complicated, since the Samanid emir and his provinces formally stood in the service of the Caliph of Baghdad. In fact, the political power of the Caliph of Baghdad had declined by the 10th century, which was symbolized by the formation of two new Caliphates, the Fatimids (909) and the Córdoba (929), in the Islamic world, until the power of the Caliph of Baghdad fell into the hands

331 BGA VII, 139; Dunlop 1954, 104; Kmoskó 1/1, 203; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 52.

332 Ibn Faḍlān: Frye 2005, 75–77; MEH, 96–98; The Balkhī tradition: Dunlop 1954, 97–98; Kmoskó 1/2, 30–31, 78–79; al-Mas‘ūdī: Minorsky 1958, 148; Kmoskó 1/2, 172. Further reading: Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 52, note 11.

333 BGA VII, 144; Wiet 1955, 162; Kmoskó 1/1, 210; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 78–79.

334 BGA VII, 146; Wiet 1955, 164; Kmoskó 1/1, 213; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 84.

of the commanders of the mercenary troops and of senior administrators, the wazīrs, and finally the Shiite Buyids ruled the central provinces around Baghdad from 945.<sup>335</sup>

The problem of the Magyar dual kingship as described in the respective passages of the Jayhānī tradition has been connected with the relationship between the Magyars and the Khazars. As al-Jayhānī did not mention a dependence of the Magyars on the Khazars, some historians have supposed that the Magyar tribal federation gained its independence in the 870s. This negative argument is not persuasive because al-Jayhānī did not write of either the Volga Bulgars or the Slavs that they were subject to the Khazars; however, Ibn Faḍlān recorded of the Volga Bulgar king that he had the title *yiltawar*, which was the title of a ruler subject to the Khazar Khagan, and that he converted to Islam, receiving the authority of the remote Caliph as a counterpoise to the rule of the Khazar Khagan.<sup>336</sup> According to the *Russian Primary Chronicle*, the East-Slavic-speaking ethnic groups, being adjacent to the steppe, were subjects of the Khazars as well. The lack of information about Khazar subjugation of the Magyar tribal confederation in al-Jayhānī should not be taken as evidence of independence. The political situation of Eastern Europe changed radically around 895. The Magyars moved to the Carpathian Basin and were separated by the Pechenegs from the Khazars, and the Khazar Khaganate weakened significantly and lost control of large areas. The Magyar tribal confederation lost direct contact with the Khazar orbit after 895, as will be discussed in detail under paragraph 17.

### *The Structure of Nomadic Empires*

The formation of independent tribal confederacies in the steppe belt shows different patterns that can be studied alongside the political structures of the nomadic empires. Recently, Barfield formed a new theory in this field. The paradox of the Eurasian nomadic empires is the coexistence of a state formation over vast areas and nomadic organizational principles based on the traditional kinship and tribal systems. The emergence of large-scale state formations was due to outside influences: Neighboring agrarian states forced or played a crucial role in the emergence of nomadic empires. The large steppe states deviated from the agrarian empires to a large extent. In them prevailed simultaneously both traditional kinship relations and tribal hierarchy on the one hand and a political state-hierarchy on the other, but, of course, with

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335 Kennedy 2004, 156–209.

336 Zimonyi 1994, 237–238.

different functions. Outwardly, the autocratic nature of the government of nomadic imperial confederacies predominated, but inside, the consultative system of alliances was decisive. The structure of the imperial hierarchy had at least three levels: the ruler and his court at the top, followed by governors appointed by the rulers who controlled the tribes and tribal organizations within the empire, and finally the chieftains and princes of the tribal leagues, whose rule depended on their own peoples.

The tribal system remained intact at this level, with the advantage that the constant feuds ceased that had earlier constantly recurred due to the lack of a larger political unit. The tribes and tribal confederations were linked to the empire by the governors designated by the ruler, usually members of the dynasty to ensure their loyalty. They managed local affairs, organized the military auxiliaries, and defeated rebellious local leaders. The court monopolized foreign policy and military affairs. The stability of the system was secured by the redistribution of incoming foreign goods in the form of taxes, tributes or commerce. While the local rulers lost their independence, they received prestige goods that they otherwise would not be able to obtain. The tribal leagues had the right to organize their internal affairs.<sup>337</sup> Barfield studied the structure of the Hsiung-nu Empire and noted that two systems of ranks existed: the military order was based on the decimal system, while another method was used in connection with administrative units. The 24 commanders of the units of ten thousand warriors, representing the middle stratum in the imperial hierarchy, might have had administrative titles too, and the fusion of the two systems could obviously penetrate to lower levels. These 24 commanders secured the connection between the court of the emperor and the local chieftains of the tribal groups. The critical link was between the local leaders and the governors appointed by the emperor. The chieftains of a subjugated tribe or tribal confederation were inserted into the hierarchy of the Hsiung-nu Empire, but his own people were the guarantee of power, granting him autonomy in internal affairs. The power of the empire was theoretically without limit, though the tribes and tribal leagues were primarily loyal to their own chieftains and only secondarily to the empire and his court.

The emperor could secure stable rule over the tribal groups if he took the interests of tribal leaders into consideration, and therefore the relationship between the ruler and the local princes was more federal than autocratic. If the tribal aristocracy was dissatisfied with the nomadic empire, there were three possibilities: 1. westward migration, leaving the sphere of the realm; 2. submis-

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337 Barfield 1992, 5–8.

sion to China; 3. rebellion. All three possibilities had significant risks and were undertaken by chieftains of the tribal groups only in critical situations. Flight west was only possible for peoples living on the western fringe of the empire, and they obviously had to consider the political situation of the neighbouring western territories. Western movement often triggered waves of migration. If a tribal group left for China, the leader lost his autonomy, and although he had the opportunity to live in prosperity as a tribal leader, he broke his relationship with the nomadic world and lost his influence in the steppe. In the history of the Hsiung-nu, revolt as a last resort broke out around 60 BC, when the monarch attempted to extend his centralized power over the chieftains.<sup>338</sup>

According to Barfield, China played a crucial role in the formation and existence of the Hsiung-nu Empire and the Türk and the Uygur Khaganates. The rise and heyday of the Han dynasty that unified China coincided with those of the Hsiung-nu, and China was united shortly after the foundation of the Türk Khaganate under the Sui and later the T'ang dynasties. As the unity of China dissolved and its economy was in crisis, the revenues of the nomadic empires, whose prosperity and existence depended on Chinese political unity and tribute payments, were reduced, and so political unity disintegrated on the steppe in turn.<sup>339</sup>

There were three large nomadic empires in Eastern Europe in the 4th–10th centuries: The Huns, Avars and Khazars. The Huns and Avars gained the status of nomadic empires after taking possession of the Carpathian Basin, where they took advantage of the prosperity and productive power of the Eastern Roman and later Byzantine Empire, which they tapped through tribute relations. The form of these relations was similar to that of the *ho-ch'in* treaties between China and the Hsiung-nu, which included the following points: 1. the Chinese would pay an annual tribute in silk, wine and grain; 2. the Hsiung-nu emperor would marry a Chinese princess; 3. the two emperors would be equal in rank; and 4. the Great Wall would be the official border between the two empires.<sup>340</sup> In 435 the Hun king Bleda concluded a peace-treaty with the Eastern Roman emperor Theodosius II in Margus that contained the following conditions: The emperor must not conclude an alliance with peoples at war with the Huns; the Huns can visit markets in border towns and trade merchandise there; the annual tribute paid to the Huns would be 700 pounds of gold [one pound = 0.337 kg]; and the Romans had to pay eight solidi instead of four (one solidus = 4.5 g) as

338 Barfield 1992, 38–41.

339 Barfield 1992, 9. A critical review of the theory: Drompp 2005, 101–111; Recent overviews: Biran 2013, 1021–1033, Di Cosmo 2015, 49–72.

340 Barfield 1992, 46.

ransom to release Roman prisoners of war in Hun captivity.<sup>341</sup> As the Roman and Byzantine emperors had never regarded themselves as equals of the Hun or Avar rulers, a marriage relationship between the Christian imperial house and the nomadic rulers was extraordinary and normally was not desirable.<sup>342</sup> The East Romans especially considered the *limes* on the lower Danube as a border line and made enormous efforts to secure it. Both the Huns and the Avars broke through this line, which paved the way for the mass migration of the Slavs into the Balkans.

The Huns forced the Eastern Roman Empire in the 40s of the 5th century to pay nearly 13,000 pounds of gold, or more than 900,000 gold solidi.<sup>343</sup> Between 430 and 442 the annual tribute increased from 350 pounds (25,000 solidi) up to 2,100 (150,000 solidi).<sup>344</sup> Between 573 and 626 the Avars collected multiples of this. In 573 the Byzantines annually paid 80,000 solidi to the Avars, then 100,000 solidi from 585, 120,000 from 598, and 200,000 from 623. Bóna estimated the sum of the annuities at 4.5 million solidi (62,000 pounds or 20,000 kg gold) during these 53 years.<sup>345</sup> According to Pohl, the sum that the Avars accrued from annual tribute, ransom, gifts and booty might have reached nearly six million solidi by 680.<sup>346</sup> This huge income is also reflected in the archaeological record. Both the Huns and the Avars obtained great revenue from the neighboring great powers, which helped the courts to maintain their empires.

The Khazars first created an empire over the western part of the Eurasian steppe whose center lay in the territory north of the Caucasus and on the lower Volga during the early Middle Ages. The Khazars, as vassals of the western Türk Khaganate, took part in the Byzantine-Sassanid war in 626/627 on the side of the former. The fall of the Eastern Türk Khaganate in 630 and then the Western Türk Khaganate in 659 created an opportunity for the Khazar ruler to form a new Khaganate by taking the title *khagan*. In 652 the Khazars repelled the invading Arab armies that crossed the Caucasus, and by 680 the Khazar Khagan had conquered the steppe region north of the Black Sea by defeating the Onogundur-Bulgars. In the first half of the 8th century, the Khazars waged continual wars against the Muslims, and they were able to successfully defend their realm along the ridge of the Caucasus. In the 9th century the Abbasid Caliphate carried on a flourishing trade with the Khazars and Eastern Europe.

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341 Bóna 1984, 269; 1993, 53.

342 DAI, 71, 73.

343 Maenchen-Helfen 1973, 180; 1978, 137.

344 Bóna 1984, 268–271; Pohl 1988, 180.

345 Bóna 1984, 324.

346 Pohl 1988, 181.

The profits from the commerce between the empires made it possible for the Khazars to consolidate and maintain their realm.

The political structure of the Mongol Empire was described in detail by contemporary sources, and while it differs significantly from the earlier nomadic realms, it can be used as an analogy. Pope Innocent IV sent the Franciscan friar Plano Carpini to the court of the Mongol Great Khan Güyük in 1245. He crossed the territory of Batu and visited his court, and then he travelled to the centre of the Mongol Empire. The report of his trip is a valuable source for the medieval history of the Mongols. He dealt in detail with the issues of the nomadic state organization in chapter seven:

First we shall tell how the Tartars make peace with people, second, the names of the countries which they have conquered, third, the countries which have resisted them strongly, and fourth the despotism which they exercise over them.

You have to know that the Tartars do not make peace with anyone unless they submit to the Tartars because, as we said above, they have Genghis Khan's command and, if they can, they must conquer all other nations.<sup>347</sup> Here is what the Tartars ask from them: that they join the army with them against anyone whenever the Tartars wish, and that they give a tenth of everything they have, both people and property. Therefore the Tartars count ten boys and take one of them, and they do the same with the girls whom they take to their own country and keep as slaves; they count the rest and organize them as is their custom.

But once the Tartars have people in their power, they do not keep any promise they have made to them; they agree in every way they can, but only to take advantage of them. When we were in Russia, a Saracen was sent to us, and it was said he was from Cuyuc Khan and Bati, and this officer took one boy from whomever had three, as was later told to us; and any man who did not have a wife he led away; and he did the same with women who did not have legitimate husbands. He likewise deported paupers and those who begged for their food. However, he counted those

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347 Juwaynī quoted a *Yarliq* of Genghis Khan: "Whosoever, therefore, shall submit, mercy shall be shown unto him and unto his wives and children and household; but whosoever shall not submit, shall perish together with all his wives and children and kinsmen." (Boyle 1958 I, 145) Additional information: Gießauf 1995, 190, note 539. The Mongols distinguished two different peoples: *il-irgen* 'voluntarily subjugated people' and *bulga-irgen* 'rebellious peoples' (Allsen 1987, 64).



remaining according to the Tartar custom, and took note of everyone, the small and the great alike, even babies a day old. Whether rich or poor the people must send this tribute: the pelt of a white bear and of a black beaver and of a black sable and a black pelt of a certain animal which has a den in that country whose name we do not know how to say in Latin (however, the Poles and the Ruthenians call this animal *dorchort*<sup>348</sup>) and a black fox pelt.<sup>349</sup> Anyone who does not give this is led to Tartary and becomes a slave.<sup>350</sup>

The Tartars order foreign princes to visit them without delay, and when they arrive they receive none of the honors they are accustomed to, but instead are treated like common people, and they must present the Tartars with many gifts: to the leaders and their wives and to the officers of the thousands and hundreds—to everyone generally. Even the servants themselves seek gifts with great insistence and not only from them, but even from ambassadors when they are sent to them.

They kill princes sometimes, as we told of Michael and others. However, the Tartars allow some princes to return in order to attract others. They kill some princes with potions or poison. In fact, the Tartars' intention is that they alone should rule the world; to this end they look for opportunities to kill nobles. They keep the son or brothers of those they allow to return and never send them back again, as was done with the son

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348 Old Russian *dorhor* is perhaps 'hamster' cf. Gießauf 1995, 191, note 542.

349 Furs, as Rubruk mentioned, were more often the currency in this era. The Volga Bulgars struck coins in Eastern Europe which allowed limited circulation. Even China could not pay his tribute in money, although there was a developed monetary system (Allsen 1987, 183).

350 The first census of Russian principalities took place in 1245, known in Russian as *chislo*. The Russian annal *Sofiskaya letopis'* mentioned the registration of the population of Kiev carried out on the orders of Batu in 1245, which was the basis for tax collection (*dan'*). Allsen pointed to certain chronological difficulties of Plano Carpini's information (Allsen 1987, 134–136). The census originally extended to areas with nomadic population and was mainly used for commitment to military service. Its function changed after the subjugation of agricultural regions. The obligation to military service depended on the amount of tax revenue from registration. The adult male population was registered, and the proportions were determined to establish a balance between the obligations of military service and productive activity. The clergy was freed from the census. The census was of crucial importance from the perspective of the economic and military potential of the Mongol Empire and was the basis for the consolidation of power and for further conquests. The census was synonymous to submission in the eyes of the Mongols (Allsen 1987, 116–125).

of Ierozlai and a duke of the Alani and many others. If a father or a brother dies without an heir, they never send the son or brother back, but use any means to take his principality completely away from him, just as we saw done with a certain duke of the Solangi.<sup>351</sup>

The Tartars place their *basckaks*, or prefects, in the territories of those whom they allow to return, and everyone must obey them, from the poorest man to the duke. If the men of a certain city or country do not do as he wishes, the *basckak*<sup>352</sup> alleges that they are disloyal, so the Tartars ruin the city or land and kill the men who are in it by their strong hand and they attack suddenly and by surprise by order of the Tartar prince who controls the country. This happened shortly after we had arrived in Tartary to a city in Ruthenia that the Tartars gave to the Kumans. And not only the Tartar prince who took over the land, or his prefect, but any Tartar noble who travels through the town or country does so as though he ruled it, and the more so the greater he is.<sup>353</sup>

The Mongol Kubilai listed the demands in his order to the Prince of Annam in 1267: 1. The prince must personally visit the court of the Great Khan; 2. he should send his sons or brothers as hostages; 3. the population should be registered; 4. they must set up military units; 5. they should send tax revenues; and 6. a *Darugači* 'governor' should control them. In addition, it would appear that the Mongol Great Khan required them to maintain the imperial post road system.<sup>354</sup> The administrative system of the agricultural realms, first and fore-

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351 In addition to the investiture and the posting of a *Darugači* in the subjugated principalities, the institution of taking hostages was an important part of securing the loyalty of the local princes. Most of the young princes kept as hostages were incorporated into the daily guard of the Great Khan, so Chinese sources called the daily guard the hostage troupe. The hostage could secure not only the loyalty of the native princes but could also be used as a pretender to the throne, as his long stay at the court of the Khan made him more reliable than his relative in power (Allsen 1987, 73–75).

352 The *Darugači* is the same as Turkic *Baskak*, which was originally the keeper of the seals in former nomadic (Turkic-speaking) empires (Karakhanids). These dignitaries had the following functions in the Mongol Empire: They monitored the census, the obligation to military service, the post road system, and tax collection. They controlled the local rulers and were mostly strangers and of another religion than that of the population they supervised. They had also a smaller military unit. This institution faded away during the 14th century (Gießauf 1995, 192, note 545).

353 Hildinger 1996, 79–81; Gießauf 1995, 104–106, 190–192; Györffy 1986, 137–140; Schmieder 1997, 84–86.

354 Allsen 1987, 114.

most the Chinese and Persian and later the Muslim lands, exerted a significant influence on Mongol administration, but nomadic traditions survived and were effective.

The study of the internal structure of the Türk Khaganates is possible since the Orkhon runic inscriptions are the oldest extant internal sources on the nomads of the steppe and reflect their genuine ideas of their own polity, and the foundation of the Türk Khaganate brought about a new era of nomadic history with far-reaching consequences and deeply influenced the western half of the Eurasian steppe. According to Golden, the pattern of the Türk Khaganate was followed by the Khazar Khaganate, which was in turn the model for the Magyar and Oguz tribal confederations.<sup>355</sup> The studies of Pritsak, Vásáry, Szűcs, Golden, Kürsat-Ahlers and Barfield in the last decades have contributed significantly to the elucidation of the internal structure of the nomadic empires, especially that of the Türk Empire.<sup>356</sup> The basic conceptual notions of *el* and *bodun* have been investigated on the basis of the Orkhon Turkic runic inscriptions. The term *bodun* means 'people, tribal confederation,' with the following characteristics: 1. The belief in a common origin is its internal cohesive factor (we-consciousness), which is embodied in the myth of origin (*origo gentis*); 2. The people is politically organized under strong monarchic rule. Only a stable political framework enduring for two or three centuries can provide a basis for the formation of linguistic and cultural unity among the different subgroups and a belief in common origin, originally the myth of the dominant tribe but gradually accepted by the whole tribal league; 3. Socially the people were stratified, but most of them were free and had similar or identical customs, and thereby formed a legal community under a common law. The term *bodun* appears after the name of the tribal confederation, but it appears also in the expression *begler bodun* 'the nobles and the common people.' The secondary meaning of the word shifted to the common people, known as *kara bodun* 'black, simple people' in the runic inscriptions, but the two social classes together formed the tribal confederacy, which was also called *bodun*, having common traditions and laws. This model applied when an ethnic consciousness based on a common origin, tradition and language coincided with loyalty to the political power and the consciousness of the free of having a common law. All in all, the term *bodun* refers the nomadic form of tribal societies.

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355 Golden, 1982, 73–74.

356 Pritsak 1988, 749–780; Vásáry 1983, 189–213; Szűcs 1992; Golden 1982, 37–76; Kürsat-Ahlers 1994; Barfield 1992, 131–161.

The meaning of the term *el* is 'sovereign, independent domination, great power status, empire.' It is inseparable from the title of supreme ruler, the *qagan*, and the traditional law, or *törü*, which had become the exclusive monopoly of the *qagan's* power during the process of empire-building. The Orkhon Turkic runic inscriptions described the emergence of *el*: 1. The chieftain of a *bodun* leads successful campaigns and collects a significant military strength; 2. The rulers and the nobility have appropriate skills. The *qagan* must have received sacrality from heaven (*qut* 'the favour of heaven; good fortune')<sup>357</sup> and possess the necessary political and military abilities (*bilge, alp*); 3. Harmony and unity must reign between the ruling elite (*begler*) and the common people (*bodun*); 4. The sky-god (*tengri*) gives mandate to the *qagan* to rule over other peoples of the realm; and 5. The holy Ötüken-yış was the scene for worship of the dynasty's ancestors. According to the perspective of the Turkic runic inscriptions, representing that of the rulers and elite of the Türk Khaganate, the term *bodun* falls into two categories: 1. *ellig qaganlig bodun* the tribal confederation with *el* and *qagan*, i.e. a sovereign, independent power and sovereign ruler; and 2. *elsiremiş qagansiramiş bodun* the tribal league without *el* and *qagan*, which was regarded as a slave people who had left the imperial law; their prince was appointed by the *qagan* in the Turkic inscriptions. The latter peoples without *el* and *qagan* are little, poor, hungry and naked. On the contrary, the *qagan* clothed the naked, made the poor rich and increased the number of the population. If a ruler wanted to create a nomadic empire from a tribal confederacy, he would have to lead successful campaigns against other tribal groups and conquer them, then designate their nomadic migrational routes or settlements and ensure the prosperity of his realm. The organization of a subjugated *bodun* meant that the *qagan* appointed his officer at the head of the tribal confederacy, determined its habitation, used them as military auxiliary troops, and required them to pay a tax.<sup>358</sup> As mentioned above, these peoples were classified as military auxiliaries in the decimal system, and they were forced to march to war when the *qagan* so ordered. As for taxation, no reliable contemporary data are available.<sup>359</sup>

In Hungarian historiography, Gyula Kristó supposed that the Magyar tribal confederacy could form its own *el* after secession from the Khazars.<sup>360</sup> In fact, such an opportunity could only arise after the conquest of the Carpathian Basin in 895–900, when the Hungarians left the sphere of the Khazar Khaganate

357 Clauson 1972, 594.

358 Zimonyi 1994a, 1–8; 2003, 57–59.

359 Golden 1992, 146; Kürsat-Ahlers 1994, 343–350; Pritsak 1988, 767.

360 Kristó 1995, 360–361.

and the power of the Khazar court weakened. However, there is no trace of the title *qagan* in the sources. After the collapse of the Khazar Khaganate in 965, another source of legitimation appeared, which is reflected in the well-known title *yabgu* in the name of the grand prince Gyeücsa ~ Géza.<sup>361</sup> Golden assumed that the Magyar and Oguz tribal federations did not go beyond the level of *bodun*, i.e. they did not reach the organization of *el*,<sup>362</sup> and the western influence on the Magyars, i.e. the spread of Christianity, played a role in the process, in that the ruler of the tribal confederacy made no attempt to found an *el*.<sup>363</sup>

Before returning to Magyar-Khazar relations, it is worth studying the details of the inner political conditions of the Khazar Khaganate. The political position of the Volga Bulgar ruler and his political ties with the Khazar Khagan is well attested, because Ibn Faḍlān wrote a detailed report about it: "There is imposed on the king of the Ṣaqāliba [the Volga Bulgars] a tribute that he pays to the king of the Khazars, namely a sable skin for each household in his kingdom. When a ship from the country of the Khazars arrives in the country of the Ṣaqāliba, the king rides out, takes stock of what is on board, and takes a tenth of the entire merchandise. When the Rūs or the members of some other races come with slaves, the king (the Ṣaqāliba) has the right to choose for himself one out of ten heads. The son of the king of Ṣaqāliba is held as a hostage at the court of the king of the Khazars. The king of the Khazars had learned of the beauty of the daughter of the king of the Ṣaqāliba, and sent out [an emissary] asking for her hand in marriage. The king of the Ṣaqāliba protested and refused his request. Whereupon the king of the Khazars sent troops and seized her by force, although he was a Jew and she was a Muslim, and she died at his court. He then sent an emissary asking for the hand of another of his daughters. As soon as the king of the Ṣaqāliba learned of this, he acted without delay and married her off to the king of Askal who was a subject to him, out of fear that the king of the Khazars might seize her by force, as he had done with her sister. What induced the king of Ṣaqāliba to write and ask the Caliph to build a fortress for him was his fear of the king of the Khazars."<sup>364</sup> The Volga Bulgar had a ruler with the title *yiltawar* ~ *elteber*, which indicated submission to the Khazar king. The rulers of the Karluks and Uygurs had the

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361 Dobrovits 2011, 99–103.

362 Golden, 1980, 73–74.

363 Golden, 1982, 73–74.

364 Frye 2005, 61–62; Togan 1939, 35, 80–81; Kovalevskiy 1956, 140–141; Canard 1958, 71–72; Lewicki 1985, 66, 108–109.

title *elteber* in the Türk Khaganate.<sup>365</sup> Ibn Faḍlān emphasized three elements of the submission: 1. The tribute was imposed in the form of fur skins, as attested later in the Golden Horde, which constituted one of the main products of the long-distance trade.<sup>366</sup> The Khazars also collected fur as tribute from the East Slavic speaking tribes.<sup>367</sup> 2. The Khazar Khagan held a member of the prince's family as a hostage in his court, which had several advantages as discussed above.<sup>368</sup> 3. Concerning the marriage policy of Khazar Khagans, Ibn Faḍlān wrote: "A custom of the king of the Khazars is that he has twenty-five wives, each of whom is a daughter of a neighboring king. He takes her voluntarily or by force."<sup>369</sup> The marriage customs of the rulers and kings was part of diplomacy and policy. The marriage between dynasties served to strengthen and maintain the alliance; however, the Khagan married the daughters or family members of the rulers of his realm and the neighboring countries to secure the loyalty of the local rulers. That the offspring of these marriages were members of the dynasty of the Khagan as well as potential heirs of the local rulers was taken into consideration, and thereby the Khagan had in hand a new political "game" to secure the loyalty of other peoples. There was also the not-negligible advantage that foreign women and their children at the court of the Khagan were also potential hostages and rivals for the local rulers.

Ibn Faḍlān also noticed that the Volga Bulgar ruler imposed a tithe on the commercial commodities that crossed his territory that he did not share with the Khazar Khagan. The Khazar king gave up his commercial monopoly in order to make the Volga Bulgar prince interested in flourishing trade.

Military service was most important demand placed on the conquered peoples in the nomadic empires. As an example the story of the Uyghur Khagan, Bayan Chor (747–759), may be quoted, who led a campaign against the Sekiz

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365 Golden, 1992, 143, 146.

366 Martin 1986.

367 The author of the *Russian Primary Chronicle* reported in 859: "But the Khazars imposed it (tribute) on the Polyanians, the Severians, and the Vyaticians, and collected a white squirrel-skin from each hearth" (Cross, Sherbowitz-Wetzor 1953, 59; Lihachev 1950 I, 18). The interpretation is controversial: *po beley Veverica ot dyma* 'a white squirrel from each chimney' or *po bele i Veverica ot dyma* 'a white (silver coin) and a white squirrel from each chimney' (Lihachev 1950 II, 233).

368 Ibn Faḍlān reported an Oguz hostage at the court of Khazar Khagan (Togan, 1939, 31, 143–144; Kovalevskiy 1956, 129; Canard 1958, 47; Lewicki 1985, 43, 97, 146, note 188; Frye 2005, 41). Constantine Porphyrogenitus mentioned the hostages as an element of the political alliance with the Pechenegs (DAI, 49; Belke, Soustal 1995, 71).

369 Frye 2005, 76; Togan 1939, 44, 100; Kovalevskiy 1956, 147; MEH 97; Canard 1957, 85.

Oguz and Tokuz Tatar in the inscription of Šine-usu: "... I did not destroy the common people. I did not take up their tents, their household goods and livestock. I prescribed punishment. I made (them) stand up and settled (them in daily life). I told (them): (You), my own people!, come and follow me (into the field). I left (them) alone and went away. (But) they did not come. I pursued (them) as before, and caught up (with them) at Burgu. On the ninth day of the fourth month (749), I fought and defeated (them). I carried off their livestock, movable possessions, (unmarried) girls and women."<sup>370</sup> The refusal to obey the command to move to the campaign provoked practically the hardest punishment: the elimination of the tribal framework. Similarly, Genghis Khan sent a message to the Tangut ruler when he launched the second campaign against the Tanguts: "In the past, you, Burqan, said, 'We, the Tang'ut people, shall be your right (= west) wing.' Although told so by you, when I sent you a request for troops, saying that I was going on a campaign because the Sarta'ul people had not agreed to my proposal, you, Burqan, did not keep your promise and did not give me troops, but came out with mocking words. As I was moving in a different direction at the time, I said that I would call you to account later. I set out against the Sarta'ul people and, being protected by Eternal Heaven, I brought them duly to submission. Now I have come to call Burqan to account for his words."<sup>371</sup>

Ibn Faḍlān did not say a word on the military auxiliary function of the Volga Bulgars. Theoretically the Caliph could call them to battle, but even Almīsh asked the Caliph to build a fortress for him. The Caliph gave orders to collect the necessary money for the embassy to carry to the court of the Volga Bulgar ruler, but the administration of the Caliphate sabotaged the collection of the money and the embassy came to the Volga without it, which outraged the king, Almīsh. Ibn Faḍlān tried to find an answer to his request: "I asked him one day, saying to him: 'Your kingdom is extensive, your wealth abundant, your tax revenues are many. Why did you ask the Caliph to build a fortress with an amount of money from his coffers that is of no account?' He said: 'I found the empire of Islam to be prosperous, and the resources may be had to its lawfully derived revenues. I sought these funds for this reason. Had I wanted to build a fortress of silver or gold with my own money, the attainment of such an object would not have been difficult for me. I merely sought to benefit from the blessing that

370 *Qara igil bodun yoq qilmadım äbin barqın yılqısın yulmadım qıyn aydım turguru qotım kântü bodunım tedim udu kalıñ tedim qodup bardım kälmedi yiçä ärtim burguda yetdim törtünç ay toquz yañıqa suñuşdım sançdım yılqısın barımın qızın qudazın kälürtim* (East2-3); (Ramstedt 1913, 18–19; Berta 2004, 285–286, 304).

371 Rachewiltz 2006, 197; MTT, 128; Haenisch 1948, 133–134.

attaches to the money of the Commander of the Faithful, and for which reason I asked him for it.’”<sup>372</sup> The Volga Bulgar ruler had the title *ʿamīr* and he must have obeyed the commands of the Caliph from Muslim point of view, which meant that Almīsh could formally deny his commitment to the Khazar Khagan for military service.

As for the relationship between the Magyars and the Khazars, Constantine Porphyrogenitus gave accurate information in Chapter 38 of the *De administrando imperio*. The first Hungarian ruler, Levedi, took part as an ally in each war the Khazars waged. The exact meaning of alliance in the Byzantine source may be compared with the parallel term of the Orkhon Turkic Inscriptions, *ešig kүүčüg ber-* ‘to give one’s services,’ which can be interpreted in both cases as ‘to give military service to the *khagan*.’<sup>373</sup> The Magyar tribal confederacy could call an army of two *tümens* to war, as discussed in detail in the previous chapter. The Terkh Inscription quoted above presents an adequate analogy: “The Khan conquered and captured the tired Oguz tribes. He won (from them) one hundred generals and ten thousand (*tümen*) men (i.e. warriors).”<sup>374</sup>

One aspect of dynastic marriages has already been mentioned in connection with the Khazar-Volga Bulgar relation. However, if a chieftain asked for a woman from the the ruling dynasty on the basis of political and military success, it was a different situation. The Türk Bumin turned to his Jou-Jan Khagan, Anakui, to ask a wife from the members of the imperial dynasty after suppressing an uprising of the T’ieh lê tribal league. The refusal led to the revolt of the Turks, as a result of which Bumin founded the Türk Khaganate.<sup>375</sup> The *Secret History of the Mongols* contains a similar story about Genghis Khan, who wanted to establish a marriage relationship with the family of his overlord Ong Khan.<sup>376</sup> In both cases an ambitious chief attempted to take advantage of an imperial marriage in building his political career, which the emperor could obviously have refused.

However, dynastic marriages between imperial courts was another matter. The Byzantine Emperor Justinian II married the sister of the Khazar Khagan, who was called Theodora upon taking Christianity in 704, and then Constantine, the son of the Emperor Leo, married the daughter of the Khazar Khagan in

372 Frye 2005, 62; Togan 1939, 35, 81; Kovalevskiy 1956, 141; Canard 1958, 72; Lewicki 1985, 66–67, 109.

373 Zimonyi 1997, 462–464; 1998a, 160–161.

374 Tekin 1983, 51.

375 Golden 1992, 79.

376 Rachewiltz 2006, 84; MTT, 60; Haenisch 1948, 24.



732.<sup>377</sup> In addition, in 760 the Caliph al-Manṣūr ordered his governor in Armenia to ask a wife from the Khazar Khagan's family.<sup>378</sup> These marriages served certain political interests. The Byzantine marriages with the Khazar dynasty were part of an alliance against the Caliphate, whereas the caliph intended to support the strengthening of new, peaceful contacts with the Khazars after the Abbasids acquired the throne in 750.

As for the Magyars, Constantine Porphyrogenitus reported: "Because of their courage and their alliance, the chagan-prince of Chazaria gave in marriage to the first voivode of the Turks, called Lebedias, a noble Chazar lady, because of the fame of his valor and illustriousness of his race, so that she might have children by him; but, as it fell out, this Lebedias had no children by this same Chazar lady."<sup>379</sup> Németh pointed out that the bride must not have been an immediate relative of the Khagan, as Levedi would have longed for, but a noble Khazar lady.<sup>380</sup> The reward for the faithful comrade and chieftain was a noble but not royal bride.

Finally, Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus called attention to another aspect of the submission: "... the then-chagan-prince of Chazaria sent a message to the Turks, requiring that Lebedias, their first voivode, should be sent to him. Lebedias therefore came to the chagan of Chazaria, and asked the reason why he sent for him to come to him. The Chagan said to him: 'We have invited you upon this account, in order that, since you are noble and wise and valorous and first among the Turks, we may appoint you prince of your nation, and you may be obedient to our word and our command.'<sup>381</sup> Personal appearance at the court of the Khazar Khagan was part of the ceremony appointing a prince to rule. As examples from the time of the Golden Horde, the Russian princes personally visited the court of the khan if a new khan or prince ascended to the throne in order to obtain the Yarlik, the certificate of appointment.

In conclusion, political dependencies took various forms within the nomadic empires. The process of the formation of the Magyar tribal confederation within the Khazar Khaganate is reflected in the sources and one trend can be clearly reconstructed. The appointment of Árpád to the prince of the tribal confederation and the title *künde* of the Magyar prince imply that he attained the

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377 Noonan 1992, 112–113. Constantine Porphyrogenitus noted that such marriages were not desirable (DAI, 70–77; Belke, Soustal 1995, 94–99).

378 Golden 1980, 60, 65; Czeglédy 1960, 75–79.

379 DAI, 171; Belke, Soustal 1995, 189.

380 Németh 1991<sup>2</sup>, 226–227.

381 DAI, 173; Belke, Soustal 1995, 191–192.

third position in the hierarchy of the Khazar Khaganate. As a consequence, the political and military weight of the Magyars increased and their prince could directly influence the policy of the Khazar court.

## 6 Houses and Nomadic Life

Ibn Rusta: They are tent-dwelling people. They migrate following the herbage and vegetation.

Gardīzī: They have a plain all (covered) with grass.

Al-Bakrī: They are yurt- and tent-dwelling people. They follow the rainfall and the grass fields (grazing areas).

Abū'l-Fidā': They are yurt- and tent-dwelling people. They follow the rainfall and the grass fields (grazing areas).

Al-Marwazī: They are tent-dwelling people. They migrate following the herbage and vegetation.

ʿAwfī: They are tent-dwelling people. They migrate with their flock (animals).

Shukrallāh: They migrate with the tents and flock (animals).

Shükrrallāh: Wherever they go, they go together with their chattels, tents, the retinue [of the ruler], the court of the ruler and the animals.

Muḥammad Kātib: These people migrated day and night together with their tents and animals.

Ḥājji Khalifa: These people are nomads (tent-dwelling).

The text can be clearly separated into two parts: the first relates to their dwelling-place, the second to their nomadic lifestyle. Gardīzī omitted the first element, while al-Bakrī added to it to a new synonymous term, and reworded the second part. Al-Marwazī kept the original report, but the Persian translator of his work, ʿAwfī, changed the emphasis from the grazing area to their migration with their animals in the second part of the text. Shukrallāh combined the two elements as a single sentence, while its Turkish translator interpreted it by adding some new elements. Ḥājji Khalifa compressed it into one notion.

### *Yurts and Tents*

The word 'tent/yurt' is the translation of Arabic *qubba* قبة, whose basic meaning is 'a round structure',<sup>382</sup> and it is equivalent to Persian *khargāh* خرگاه meaning 'a tent, pavilion, tabernacle; a cottage or movable Turkoman hut or tent, formed

<sup>382</sup> Lane VII, 2478.

by flexible poles, and covered with felt-cloth.<sup>383</sup> Al-Bakrī also adds the plural of خيمة *khayma*, which in Arabic is traditionally the word for ‘tent.’ The Turkish text of Ḥajjī Khalīfa contains *göcer evli* گوجراولی ‘nomad’ derived from the Turkish *göcer ev* ‘nomadic tent.’<sup>384</sup>

Togan described the yurt on basis of the description of al-Ya‘qūbī<sup>385</sup> († 897): “(The Turks) have neither houses nor fortresses, they only pitch Turkic domes (*qibāb turkiyya*) which are ribbed, and the nails are strips of horses and cattle, and are covered with felt. They are the most skilful of all creatures in manufacturing felt, (even) their clothes are made from it.”<sup>386</sup> According to Andrews, the first description of a yurt with wooden bars appears in Muslim sources of the Turkic nomads in the Kazakh steppe from 891.<sup>387</sup>

Andrews published an exhaustive monography on the felt tents and pavilions of the nomadic peoples in which he demonstrated that the yurt had first appeared in the Türk Khaganate. The term *käräkü*, which he interpreted as yurt, appeared for the first time in 732 in the Türk runic inscription.<sup>388</sup> The Chinese poet Po Chü-i described his own tent with wooden bars of the Türk type, which the northern barbarians, probably Uygurs, had made for him, in detail in a poem he wrote between 829 and 846.<sup>389</sup> The Turkic *Irq Bitig*, a book of divination recorded around 930, contains a section about a tent-type yurt.<sup>390</sup> Gabain found two pictorial representations of the yurt from the 8th century.<sup>391</sup> All these data show that the emergence and spread of the yurt can be dated in the 7th–8th centuries.

It is this type of tent, under the name *qubba turkiyya* ‘Turkic style round tent,’ that doubtless appeared, as quoted above, in Muslim literature in 891. It was already mentioned in connection with the Prophet in the Muslim tradition, but most authors who collected the prophetic *ḥadīths* lived and wrote in the 9th century or later. The two outstanding authors of *ḥadīth*-collections, al-Bukhārī († 870) and Muslim († 875), mentioned that the Prophet withdrew to pray and fast in his (*qubba turkiyya*), which may have been a Turkic-style

383 Steingass 1977, 456.

384 Redhouse 1968, 405.

385 C. Brokelmann, al-Ya‘qūbī: EI IV, 1247.

386 BGA VII, 295; cf. Togan 1939, 119; Andrews 1999, 180.

387 Andrews 1999, 180–181.

388 Andrews 1999, 107–110.

389 Andrews 1999, 152–158.

390 Andrews 1999, 110–117.

391 Gabain 1971, 169–173; cf. Andrews 1999, 161–165.

wooden-latticed tent.<sup>392</sup> The famous historian al-Ṭabarī recorded in connection with the Battle of the Trench (627) that when a Persian counselor who had suggested the digging of a trench went to Muḥammad, the Prophet, he pitched a Turkic tent (*qubba turkiyya*) nearby.<sup>393</sup> Al-Maqrīzī wrote in the parallel section that the Prophet pitched a dome made from red leather (*qubba min adam*).<sup>394</sup> The dome of red leather was in use among the Arabs for ritual purposes in the pre-Islamic period, and the Prophet himself might have possessed one. What cannot be determined is whether the Turkic tent of the Prophet as described was either a leather tent in the Arab tradition, which was later confused with a Turkic dome of the sort mentioned in other sources in the 9th century, or whether a Turkish-style tent similar to a yurt was in use in the Arabian Peninsula at the beginning of the 8th century due to trade.<sup>395</sup> In any case, the Arab conquerors found Turkic yurts (*qibāb turkiyya*) in the Persian capital, al-Madā'in, in 637/38, in which many treasures were piled up,<sup>396</sup> which speaks for the latter assumption.

Tamīm ibn Baḥr<sup>397</sup> visited the Uygur Khagan's court in the first half of the 9th century. There is no doubt that he saw nomadic tents during his travel in the steppe: "He journeyed twenty days in the steppes where there were springs and grass but no villages or towns: only the men of the relay service living in tents (*khayma*)."<sup>398</sup> The tent of the Khagan was in the capital of the Tokuz Oguz, i.e. the Uygurs: "He says that from (a distance of) five farsakhs before he arrived in the town (of the khaqan) he caught sight of a tent (*khayma*) belonging to the king, (made) of gold. (It stands) on the flat top of his castle and can hold 100 men."<sup>399</sup> The golden tent was also mentioned in Chinese sources.<sup>400</sup> Tamīm ibn Baḥr wrote of the military strength of the Uygurs: "He says that he found the king of the Tokuzoguz when (he travelled) to him encamped in the neighbourhood of his town and he estimated his army, around his tents (*surādiq*)—to say nothing of the others—and it was some 12,000 strong. He says: and after (besides?) these (there are) seventeen chieftains, each having 13,000, and between each two chieftains there are offices (or military posts),

392 Esin 1967, 282; Andrews 1999, 185.

393 Ṭabarī I, 1468; *The History* VIII, 11.

394 Esin 1967, 282.

395 Andrews 1999, 185.

396 Ṭabarī I, 2444; *The History* VIII, 11, note 62.

397 Minorsky 1948, 275–278, 303.

398 Minorsky 1948, 278, 283.

399 Minorsky 1948, 279, 283.

400 Andrews 1999, 143–146.

consisting of tents (*khayma*). The chieftains jointly with those who are with them in the offices (\*military posts?) form a circle round the army. In this circle there is a gap (gaps?) to the size of four gates (opening) towards the army. He says: and all the animals (horses) of the king and the army pasture between the tents (*surādiq*) of the king and the places occupied by the chieftains, and not one animal escapes outside the camp."<sup>401</sup> This is the first authentic description of a round nomadic camp.<sup>402</sup> Finally, Tamīm ibn Baḥr mentioned the tents of the Turkic-speaking Kimāk: "He says that he travelled that way and found the king and his army in tents (*khayma*), and in his neighbourhood were villages and cultivated tracts. The king travels from one place to another following the grass."<sup>403</sup> Tamīm ibn Baḥr used the term Arabic *khayma* 'tent,' which could certainly refer to a yurt, and *surādiq* was 'the tent of the ruler,' as it meant 'a cloth tent of quite large dimension.'<sup>404</sup> The author must certainly have seen yurts among the Turkic speaking steppe peoples in the first half of the 9th century, but he applied the Arabic word for the Bedouin tent *khayma* instead of the "Turkish tent" (*qubba turkiyya*), as he knew similar tents from his own culture. These data may go to show that the term *yurt* was probably anachronistic for the time of the Prophet.

It is worth taking into account the terms for types of housing in the works of Ibn Faḍlān and the Balkhī tradition in the first half of the 10th century. Togan and Kovalevskiy studied the relevant vocabulary in Ibn Faḍlān's text, including *qubba*, *khayma*, *bayt*, *miḍrab*, *ʿajala*.<sup>405</sup> Ibn Faḍlān must have seen a yurt in Khwārazm: "I stayed night and a day (used to sleep) in house, which was inside another house (*bayt jawfa bayt*),<sup>406</sup> and in which a Turkish felt tent (*qubba lubūd turkiyya*) was pitched."<sup>407</sup> After entering the land of the Oguz, Ibn Faḍlān described their way of life: "They are nomads (*bādiya*) and have

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401 Minorsky 1948, 281, 284.

402 Andrews 1999, 146–148.

403 Minorsky 1948, 281, 284.

404 Ch. Pellat, *Khayma*: EI<sup>2</sup> IV, 1147.

405 Togan 1939, 118–122; Kovalevskiy 1958, 108–109.

406 According to Togan, the meaning of the second word *bayt* is the courtyard where the tent was pitched. This would prove that on one hand there were large houses in this area, and note should be made that Özbegs and Türkmens still set up winter yurts in the courtyards of their houses in the 1930s (Togan 1939, 15, note 1); Kovalevskiy supposed that the second word *bayt* designates 'yurt,' which Ibn Faḍlān described in the next section (1956, 176, note 131).

407 Frye 2005, 31; Togan 1939, Arabic: 8, German translation: 15; Kovalevskiy 1956, 124, 176, notes 130–131, 341; Canard 1958, 34; Lewicki 1985, 31, 90, 133, note 107.

houses of felt (*buyūt shaʿr*). They stay for a time in one place and then travel on. One sees their dwellings placed here and there according to nomad custom (*ʿalā ʿamali-l-bādiya wa-tanaqqulihim*).<sup>408</sup> Then Ibn Faḍlān mentioned tents in connection with merchants from Khwārazm who came to the land of the Oguz: “None of the Muslims can enter their country until one of them has become his host, with whom he stays and for whom he brings garment from the land of Islam and a kerchief and some pepper, millet, raisins, and nuts for his wife. When the Muslim comes to his friend, the latter pitches a tent for him (*ḍaraba lahu qubba*) and brings him sheep in accordance with his (the Turk’s) wealth.”<sup>409</sup> Ibn Faḍlān cited the meeting of the delegation with the chief of the Oguz: “If my houses (*buyūtī*) were not off the road, I would have brought you sheep and unground grain.”<sup>410</sup> The terms *house* and *tent* were recorded in connection with illness and death among the Oguz: “If any (of the Turks) becomes sick and has female and male slaves, these look after him and no one from his family (*ahl baytihi*) comes near him. They pitch a tent (*khayma*)<sup>411</sup> for him apart from the houses (*buyūt*), and he does not depart from it until he dies or gets well ... When one of their (prominant) men dies, they dig for him a large pit in the form of a house (*bayt*), and they go to him, dress him in a robe with his belt and bow, put a drinking cup made of wood in his hand with intoxicating drink in it, and place in front of him a wooden vessel of mead. They come with his entire possessions and put them with him in this house (*bayt*). Then they set him down in it. They then build a structure (*bayt*) over him and make a kind of cupola (*qubba*) out of mud.”<sup>412</sup> Accordingly, the house-type of the afterlife was a yurt for the Oguz, as its layout resembled a circular house with a dome.<sup>413</sup> Thereafter Ibn Faḍlān wrote about tents during his visit to the Prince of the Oguz: “He pitched Turkish tents (*qibāb turkiyya*) for us and had us stay in them. He himself had a large establishment, servants

408 Frye 2005, 33; Togan 1939, a 10, 19; Kovalevskiy 1956, 125, 181, notes 169–170, 339; Canard 1958, 37; Lewicki 1985, 34, 92, 138, note 134; see Andrews 1999, 187–188.

409 Frye 2005, 35; Togan 1939, a 12, 23; Kovalevskiy 1956, 126, 337; Canard 1958, 40; Lewicki 1985, 37, 93.

410 Frye 2005, 37; Togan 1939, a 14, 26; Kovalevskiy 1956, 128, 186, note 235–237, 336; Canard 1958, 43; Lewicki 1985, 39, 95.

411 Kovalevskiy suggested some sort of hut made from tree branches and not a typical yurt; 1956, 187, note 242.

412 Frye 2005, 38–39; Togan 1939, a 14, 26–27; Kovalevskiy 1956, 128, 187, note 241–247, 335; Canard 1958, 43–44; Lewicki 1985, 40, 95.

413 For illnesses and funerals see Togan 1939, 137–140; Györfly 1986, 103–107, 222–223; Gießauf 1995, 140–143.

and large dwellings (*buyūt*). He drove in sheep for us that we might slaughter them, and put horses at our disposal for riding. He invited a crowd of his family and relatives and killed for them many sheep. We had given them gifts of garments, raisins, nuts, pepper, and millet. I noticed the wife, who had been the wife of his father, take meat, sour milk and something of what we had bestowed upon her and go out from the dwelling (*buyūt*) into the desert. She dug a little trench and buried in it that which she had with her and muttered some words. I asked the interpreter: 'What is she saying?' He answered: 'She says that this is a gift for al-Qaṭaghān, the father of Etrek (Abū Atrak = the father of the prince, her first husband), which the Arabs had given to him.' In the evening I went with the interpreter to the chieftain, while he was sitting in his tent (*qubba*)."<sup>414</sup> Ibn Faḍlān named the yurt *qubba* in the lands of the Oguz, but sometimes the term *bayt* 'house, dwelling place' is used in the same sense.

Ibn Faḍlān mentioned tents in the chapter of the Volga Bulgars. Their ruler received the Muslim emissary upon their arrival: "He pitched tents (*qibāb*) for us and we settled ourselves in them ... We remained Sunday, Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday in the tents (*qibāb*) that had been set up for us ..."<sup>415</sup> The Volga Bulgar king received the delegation in the presence of the people where the letter of the Caliph and other official letters were read and gifts were handed over. The embassy was invited to a banquet: "After an hour had elapsed, he sent for us, and we went before as he sat in his tent (*qubba*) with the rulers on his right side. He then bid us be seated on his left-hand side. We found his sons sitting in front of him, while he sat alone upon a throne covered with Greek brocade. He called for a table and it was brought, and on it was only roast meat. He himself began, took a knife and cut off a bite-size and ate it, then a second and a third. Then he cut off a piece and gave it Sausan the ambassador. As the latter took it, a small table was brought and placed in front of him. Such is the custom; no one extends his hand to the food until the king gives him a bite, as soon as he takes it, a table is brought to him. He offered me a bite and a table was brought to me. He then cut a piece and offered it to the ruler, who was on his right, and a table was brought to him. He then served the second ruler, and a table was brought to him. Then he served the fourth ruler, and a table was brought to him. He then served his sons, and tables were brought to them. We

414 Frye 2005, 39–40; Togan 1939, a 15, 28–29; Kovalevskiy 1956, 129, 188, note 261a–266, 331; Canard 1958, 45–46; Lewicki 1985, 41–42, 96.

415 Frye 2005, 44; Togan 1939, a 19–20, 39; Kovalevskiy 1956, 131, 195, note 349, 331; Canard 1958, 51; Lewicki 1985, 47, 98–99. The tents for guests appeared among the Oguz; see Togan 1939, 159; Györfy 1986, 167; Gießauf 1995, 215.

ate, each one from his own table, no one sharing it with him, and no one taking anything from a table other than his own. When the meal was over, each one of them carried to his house<sup>416</sup> whatever was left on his table.”<sup>417</sup>

Ibn Faḍlān also mentioned his own tent: “A tailor in the service of the king, from among the residents of Baghdad, had happened to come to the region, and entered my tent (*qubba*) with the object of conversing. We talked for the amount of time it takes a man to read less than one half of one-seventh of the Quran. While awaiting the call for evening prayer, suddenly we heard the call for prayer. We went out of the tent (*qubba*), and dawn had broken already.”<sup>418</sup> The Volga Bulgars paid taxes to the king and Ibn Faḍlān mentioned their houses twice in this context: “Most of what they eat is millet and horse meat, although wheat and barley are plentiful. Everyone who grows something takes it for himself, the king having no claim to it. However, they render to him every year a sable skin from each household (*bayt*).”<sup>419</sup> Later he added: “There is imposed on the king of the Ṣaqāliba a tribute that he pays to the king of the Khazars, namely a sable skin for each household (*bayt*) in his kingdom.”<sup>420</sup> As for the tents of the Volga Bulgars in general, Ibn Faḍlān wrote: “All of them live in tents (*qibāb*), but the tent (*qubba*) of the king is extremely large, holding a thousand persons or more. It is spread with Armenian carpets, and in the center of it the king has a throne covered with Greek brocade.”<sup>421</sup> Ibn Faḍlān mentioned their houses in connection with lightning. “I have never encountered more thunderbolts than in their country. When a thunderbolt falls on a house (*bayt*), they do not go near it, saying: This house (*bayt*) is the object of (divine) wrath.”<sup>422</sup> Tents were also recorded in the section dealing with the burial rites of the Volga Bulgars: “The women do not cry over the dead man, rather it is the men among them who weep over him. They come on the day in which he dies and stand

416 *Manzil* ‘accommodation,’ but *bayt* in the parallel passage of al-Qazwīnī.

417 Frye 2005, 45; Togan 1939, a 20–21, 41–43; Kovalevskiy 1956, 132, 330; Canard, 1958, 52–53; Lewicki 1985, 48–49, 99. For receptions see Togan 1939, 159–160; Györfy 1985, 162–163; Gießauf 1995, 212.

418 Frye 2005, 50; Togan 1939, a 25, 53; Kovalevskiy 1956, 135, 327; Canard 1958, 58–59; Lewicki 1985, 53, 102.

419 Frye 2005, 54; Togan 1939, a 27, 60; Kovalevskiy 1956, 136, 325; Canard 1958, 62; Lewicki 1985, 56–57, 104.

420 Frye 2005, 61; Togan 1939, a 35, 80; Kovalevskiy 1956, 140, 319; Canard, 1958, 71; Lewicki 1985, 66, 108.

421 Frye 2005, 55; Togan 1939, a 28, 64; Kovalevskiy 1956, 137, 324; Canard 1958, 63; Lewicki 1985, 58, 104.

422 Frye 2005, 55; Togan 1939, a 29, 64; Kovalevskiy 1956, 137, 324; Canard 1958, 63; Lewicki 1985, 58, 104–105.



at the door of his tent (*qubba*). They then give vent to the most disgusting uncanny wailing. These are the freeborn men. When their crying is done, slaves arrive carrying braided strands of leather. They do not cease to cry and to beat their sides and the uncovered parts of their bodies with those thongs until there appears on their bodies welts similar to those caused by whip strokes. They inevitably raise a standard at the door of the dead man's tent (*qubba*). They bring his weapons and place them around his grave. They do not stop crying for two years. When the two years have passed, they haul down the standard and cut their hair. The relatives of the dead man issue an invitation to a meal, which is a sign indicating that they are coming off of mourning, and if he happens to have had a wife, she remarries.<sup>423</sup> The word *qubba* has the meaning 'yurt' in the Volga Bulgar chapter similar to the usage in that of the Oguz. The term *bayt* 'house' was a general designation for a dwelling place and in some cases it indicated a permanent building, a sign of fixed settlements.

In contrast, the houses of the Rūs are worth mentioning; in the work of Ibn Faḍlān it is reported of their homes: "They come from their own country, moor their boats on the strand of the Atil, which is a great river, and build on its banks large houses (*buyūt*) out of wood. In a house (*bayt*) like this ten or twenty people, less or more, live together. Each of them has a couch whereupon he sits, and with them are fair maidens who are destined for sale to the merchants."<sup>424</sup> Here, the term *bayt* 'house' apparently means the long house well-known from Scandinavia.<sup>425</sup> If one of their number fell ill, they acted similarly to the nomads: "If one of them falls ill, they erect a tent (*khayma*) for him at a distance from themselves, and leave him there. They put beside him a little bread and water, do not approach him, and do not speak to him."<sup>426</sup> Finally, the term *qubba* occurred in connection with the funeral of a Rūs chief. After his death the nobleman was placed in a temporary grave while they prepared the funeral. The death suit was sewn and a slave was selected to accompany his lord to the afterlife, and a boat was pulled to shore and placed on a pyre where the dead was ready to burn. According to the Mashhad manuscript of Ibn Faḍlān,

423 Frye 2005, 61; Togan 1939, a 34–35, 79–80; Kovalevskiy 1956, 140, 319–320; Canard 1958, 70–71; Lewicki 1985, 65–66, 104–108.

424 Frye 2005, 64; Togan 1939, a 36–37, 84–85; Kovalevskiy 1956, 142, 240, note 708–710, 318; Canard 1958, 73; Lewicki 1985, 68, 109–110.

425 Viking house-types: Bronsted 1983, 206–211; Bjørn Myhre, Houses: Pulsiano 1993, 292–293.

426 Frye 2005, 66; Togan 1939, a 38, 88; Kovalevskiy 1956, 143, 242, note 733, 317; Canard, 1958, 75; Lewicki 1985, 70, 111, 202; note 476. The sentence about the pitching of the tent is missing in the Mashhad manuscript, but it can be found in the work of Yāqūt.

they dressed the dead chief “and carried him into the tent (*qubba*) that had been erected on the boat.”<sup>427</sup> Amīn Rāzī<sup>428</sup> could have used a more detailed text in his Persian translation, as he wrote: “In the middle of this ship they place a cabin (*gunbad*)<sup>429</sup> made of wood, and cover this cabin (*qubba*) with red calico of various kinds.”<sup>430</sup> Then the Mashhad manuscript contains an obscure passage: “The maiden who wished to be put to death went here and there, and entered each of the tents (*qubba min qibābihim*) where the head of each tent had intercourse with her, saying: ‘Say to thy lord, I have done this out of love of thee.’”<sup>431</sup> Amīn Rāzī’s text is more detailed and more understandable: “On the tenth day they pull out the body (from the grave), they place them in the center of the dome (*qubba*) and strew various flowers and roses in front of him. Many men and women gather. They play on the *saz*, and each of the male relatives of the dead man puts up a hut (*qubba*) a little way removed from his cabin (*qubba*). The slave girl, having adorned herself, goes to the tents of the kinsmen of the dead man. The owner of each dome has sexual intercourse with her, each one saying to her in a loud voice: ‘Say to thy lord, I have done this out of love and friendship of thee.’ And in like manner, as she passes to the end of huts (*qubba*), all the others have sexual intercourse with her as well.”<sup>432</sup>

Subsequently, the dome, located on a boat, is mentioned several times during the description of the funeral ceremony, and in each instance the word *qubba* is used. Consequently, Togan translated *qubba* as ‘tent,’ referencing the possibility that Amīn Rāzī might have confused the tent with the deck of the boat. Togan suggested that the Turkish yurt should be considered because the term *khayma* would have been used if another type of tent were to have been described. As for the description of the *qubba* pitched up by the relatives of the deceased nobleman, the meaning is obviously tent, but of an unknown type.<sup>433</sup> Kovalevskiy translated *qubba* as *salas* ‘hut,’ meaning here a dome-shaped wooden hut, but such a structure cannot be identical with the typical

427 Frye 2005, 68; Togan 1939, 92, note 8; Kovalevskiy 1956, 155; Canard 1958, 78.

428 GAS XIV, 311–313.

429 The meaning of the Persian word is ‘arch, vault, cupola, tower’ (Steingass 1977, 1098) which corresponds to the Arabic word *qubba*.

430 McKeithen 1979, 141–142, note 465.

431 Frye 2005, 68; Togan 1939, a 40, 92; Kovalevskiy 1956, 144, 315; Canard 1958, 79; Lewicki 1985, 72–73, 112.

432 McKeithen 1979, 142–143, notes 469, 470, 472, 474; Togan 1939, 92–93, note 8; Kovalevskiy 1956, 155, Canard, 1958, 79–80.

433 Togan 1939, 245–246.

nomadic yurt.<sup>434</sup> It is hard to decide whether the term *qubba* in the Rūs chapter in connection with the funeral of a chieftain was a yurt or a dome-shaped cabin, either on the boat or on the ground.<sup>435</sup>

The dwelling is mentioned twice in the chapter on the Khazars: “It is a custom that when the great king dies, a large house (or courtyard *dār*) is built for him, in which are twenty rooms (houses *bayt*), in each of which a sepulcher is dug. And stones are carved such that they are shaped like a firmament, and placed in the (house), and stones are crushed until they become like powder, and spread on it (the floor?). Below the building (*dār*) is a large flowing river, and they channel the river over that tomb so, as they say, that the devil cannot reach it, nor any person, nor any worms or serpents. When he is buried the company that buried him are beheaded, so it is not known where his grave is in those rooms (houses *bayt*). They call his grave heaven, and they say, verily he has entered heaven. And each of the rooms (houses *bayt*) is covered with brocade with gold weave. A custom of the king of the Khazars is that he has twenty-five wives, each of whom is a daughter of a neighboring kings. He takes her voluntarily or by force. He has sixty concubines for his bed, each of whom is of surpassing beauty. Every one of them, free women and concubines, is placed in a separate palace (*qaṣr*); each has a cupola? (tent *qubba*) covered with teak and each (tent *qubba*) surrounded by a large pavilion (*miḍrab*). Each woman has an eunuch who keeps her in seclusion. When the king wishes to have sexual intercourse with one of them, he sends to the eunuch who watches over her, and the eunuch brings her in the twinkling of an eye, and places her in his bed. The eunuch places himself at the door of the king’s tent (*qubba*), and as soon as the king is through having intercourse with her, he takes her by the hand and leaves. Afterwards the eunuch does not leave her even for a minute.”<sup>436</sup> Togan assumed that the houses which were in use at the funeral of Khazar Khagans may have been yurts, because a yurt camp could be set up easily near the river and could be broken down quickly after the funeral, and that they flooded the area so that the burial place could be kept secret. Togan cited similar funeral ceremonies.<sup>437</sup> The word *qubba* in conjunction with the residences of the king and his wives obviously refers to a yurt. Togan translated *miḍrab* (مضرب) as the tent of the king or the queen, which was set up for

434 Kovalevskiy 1956, 258, note 777, 251, note 805; Canard translates it into French as *pavilion*, and Lewicki into Polish as *szatas* (Canard, 1958, 78–80; Lewicki 1985, 207, note 500).

435 Andrews 1999, 190–191; McKeithen 1979, 141–142, note 465.

436 Frye 2005, 76; Togan 1939, a 44, 99–101; Canard 1958, 85–86. This section is not in the Mashhad manuscript.

437 Togan 1939, 264–267.

receptions, whereas Kovalevskiy preferred the reading *maḍrib* (مضرب), interpreting it as the trampled space around the yurt.<sup>438</sup>

Ibn Faḍlān used the word *qubba* for the yurts of nomads. The Arabic word probably refers to the original meaning of cupola or dome-shaped hut in his chapter on the Rūs'. The term *bayt* meaning dwelling-place, or house in general, can refer either to a yurt among the nomads or a house made of stone or wood. The word *khayma* occurs twice, in both cases in connection with funereal ceremonies, and it is usually the word for the black Bedouin tent. According to Togan and Kovalevskiy, here it refers to canvas tents, not felt tents.<sup>439</sup>

Nomadic tents are mentioned in the Balkhī tradition several times. Al-İṣṭakhrī described the Khazar capital: "The extant of this part (the western bank of the Volga city suburb, where the ruler lives) in length is about a league. It is surrounded by a wall, though the buildings spread beyond. Their houses are felt tents (*kharkāhāt lubūd*), except for a small number built of clay. They have markets and baths. In the town are people of the Muslims, more than 10,000, it is said. They have about thirty mosques. The king's castle is at a distance from the river-bank and is of brick. No one else owns a brick building, the king not permitting anyone to build with brick."<sup>440</sup> The parallel passage of Ibn Ḥawqal is slightly different: "Their houses are tents made of wood covered with felt (*al-kharkāhāt min khashab qad ghushiyat bilubūd*)."<sup>441</sup> Al-Muqaddasī's parallel account is somewhat confused: "A wall surrounds the town, the houses are spread out. It is like Jurjān, or bigger. Their buildings are pavilions of wood and felt tents (*khīyam min khashab wa-lubūd kharkāhāt*), except for a few that are of clay. The palace of the ruler is of baked brick."<sup>442</sup>

The second famous city of the Khazars was Samandar between the Volga estuary and the pass of Derbent on the shore of the Caspian Sea. Al-İṣṭakhrī wrote about its houses: "Their dwellings are made of wood, arranged criss-cross, and their roofs are domed (*abniyatuhum min khashab qad nusijat wasutūḥuhum musannama*)."<sup>443</sup> Ibn Ḥawqal mentioned the yurts too: "The houses (*manzil*) of Samandar are tents (*kharkāhāt*). Their dwellings are made of wood, arranged crisscross, and their roofs are domed."<sup>444</sup> Al-Muqaddasī text is even more expanded: "Their dwellings are tents (*khīyam*) ... Their buildings are

438 Togan 1939, 121–122; Kovalevskiy 147, 271, note 930; McKeithen 1979, 157, note 552.

439 Togan 1939, 121; Kovalevskiy 1958, 187, note 242, 242, note 733.

440 Dunlop 1954, 91–92; BGA I, 220; Kmoskó 1/2, 28.

441 BGA II<sup>2</sup>, 390; Kramers, Wiet 1964, 380; Kmoskó 1/2, 74.

442 BGA III, 361; Collins 1994, 317; Kmoskó 1/2, 132.

443 Dunlop 1954, 95; BGA I, 222; Kmoskó 1/2, 29.

444 BGA II<sup>2</sup>, 394; Kramers, Wiet 1964, 384; Kmoskó 1/2, 77.

of wood, consisting of a branch network arranged crisscross, and their roofs are domed (*buryānuhum min khashab mansūja bi-l-quḍbān wa-sutūḥuhum musannama*).<sup>445</sup> Andrews, analysing the description, translated it as “their dwellings are made of wood interwoven with reeds and their roofs are rounded,” and he preferred wattle-construction to trellis.<sup>446</sup> Al-Iṣṭakhrī recorded some data on the dwelling of the Khazar Khagan: “The throne and canopy (tent, *qubba*) of gold which they have are never set up for any but the Khagan. His (palace) tents (*miḍrab*) when they go forth are above the tents of the king. His house in the town is higher than the house of the king.”<sup>447</sup> The golden tent was mentioned above as the residence of the Uyghur Khagan.

The inhabitants of the two cities of the Volga Bulgars had two kinds of dwellings, as al-Iṣṭakhrī recorded: “They have buildings of wood in which they shelter in winter. In summer they spread about in tents (*kharkāhāt*).”<sup>448</sup> Al-Muqaddasī corroborated this in connection with the town of Suwār: “Their buildings are tents (*kharkāhāt*).”<sup>449</sup> The Balkhī tradition reported of the Bur-tas, living in forests, that they have houses of wood (*bayt khashab*).<sup>450</sup>

Ibn Ḥawqal, describing the borderlands of Transoxania, mentioned nomadic tents of the Central Asian Turks: “There is a pulpit in Sutkand,<sup>451</sup> and the town is the meeting place of the Turks, some tribes of which converted to Islam. Certain tribes of the Ghuzziyya and the Kharlukhiyya converted to Islam. They are brave and noblehearted among the Turks. There are fertile fields between Bārāb, Kanjida and al-Shāsh. There live a thousand Turkish families (*bayt*) who previously converted to Islam, and they live there in their yurts (*kharkāhāt*) in their own way. They do not have buildings. Al-Ṭarāz<sup>452</sup> is a commercial centre of the Muslim Turks. Several forts belong to it. None of the Muslims go beyond the town, since whoever passes it, enters the tents (*kharkāhāt*) of Kharlukhiyya.”<sup>453</sup>

445 BGA III, 361; “Their building are of wood with reeds interwoven, the roofs are fornicate.” Collins 1994, 318; Kmoskó 1/2, 133.

446 Andrews 1999, 196–197.

447 Dunlop 1954, 98; BGA I, 224–225; Kmoskó 1/2, 31. Ibn Ḥawqal’s parallel account: BGA II<sup>2</sup>, 396; Kramers, Wiet 1964, 386; Kmoskó 1/2, 79; see Zahoder 1962, 215–216.

448 Dunlop 1954, 99; BGA I, 225; Kmoskó 1/2, 32; cf. BGA II<sup>2</sup>, 396; Kramers, Wiet 1964, 387; Kmoskó 1/2, 80.

449 BGA III, 361; “wooden huts” Collins 1994, 318; Kmoskó 1/2, 133.

450 Dunlop 1954, 98; BGA I, 225; Kmoskó 1/2, 31; BGA II<sup>2</sup>, 396; Kramers, Wiet 1964, 387; Kmoskó 1/2, 79.

451 Minorsky 1937, 371.

452 W. Barthold, Ṭarāz: EI IV, 720; Frye 1954, 150, note 295.

453 BGA II<sup>2</sup>, 511; Kramers, Wiet, 1964, 488–489; Kmoskó 1/2, 87.

Surprisingly, the Balkhī tradition did not use Arabic words for the yurt-type tent, but rather the the Persian word *khargāh*, which admittedly was used to refer to the trellis tent in the Mongol period (13th–15th centuries).<sup>454</sup> In any case, the Central Asian and Eastern European steppe nomads already lived in trellis tents in the 10th century, which allows us the assumption that the Persian term meant yurt. The Balkhī tradition reflected the process of the changing lifestyle of the nomads in Eastern Europe. It began in the towns, where wooden buildings of a permanent nature gradually came to be built in the shape of yurts for winter, while in the summer they wandered in their yurts. Moreover, the royal tent of the Khazars was recorded in this tradition, as in the work of Ibn Faḍlān.

Among the authors belonging to the Jayhānī tradition, Gardīzī mentioned the tents of the Pechenegs: “when it is the seventeenth day one arrives at the tents (*khayma*) of the Pechenegs.”<sup>455</sup> Gardīzī mentioned in passing the tents of three peoples among the nomads of Central Asia. According to the mythical origin of the Kimāks, after the death of the leader of the Tatars two boys were left; the younger received the title Shad, and after he had rebelled unsuccessfully against his brother, he fled with a girl to the river Irtysh, and “there he pitched his tent (*khargāh*).” As a nomadic group joined them later, they “put up [their] tents (*khargāh*).”<sup>456</sup> Then, the tents of the Tokuz Oguz, i.e. Uygurs, were mentioned in the discussion of the punishment of adultery, where it was related that the ruler ordered that “the man be made to give to the husband of the woman a tent[-frame] covered with a complete tent cover made entirely of new felt (*khargāhī pūshīde tā farsh-i tamām āz namad-i naw tamām kunand*).” As for the Uygur people: “The common folk are all steppe[-dwellers] and have pitched or frame tents (*khayma wa khargāh*).”<sup>457</sup> Finally, Gardīzī knew the tents of the Chigil-Turks: “and when you pass from there the Chigilī-Turks come [next] and their tents and [felt] frame-huts (*khayma wa khargāh*) appear [in front].”<sup>458</sup> Gardīzī treated the Arabic *khayma* and the Persian *khargāh* as synonyms that obviously applied to yurts. This is corroborated by al-Marwazī, who noted of the Oguz: “Some of them live in wastes and deserts, having tents and yurtas (felt-huts) (*aṣḥāb al-khīyām wa-l-kharkāhāt*).”<sup>459</sup>

454 Andrews 1999, 195.

455 Ḥabībī 1963, 271; Martínez 1982, 151; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 164.

456 Ḥabībī 1963, 257–258; Martínez 1982, 120; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 106–107.

457 Ḥabībī 1963, 267; Martínez 1982, 135; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 144–145.

458 Ḥabībī 1963, 279; Martínez 1982, 143–144; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 189.

459 Minorsky 1942, a 18, 29; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 242.

The author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* recorded the use of tents and yurts by the majority of the nomadic peoples of Central Asia. The yurts of the Tokuzoguz, i.e. Uygurs, is mentioned in connection with a place called Khumūd: “a locality with meadows and grazing grounds, with tents and felt-huts (*khayma wa khargāh*) of the Tokuzoguz.”<sup>460</sup> The Kirgiz dwellings seem to be similar: “They are owners of tents and felt-huts (*khayma wa khargāh*).”<sup>461</sup> The Karluks are mentioned in the town of Nūnkat: “It is a stage (on the road) and a few felt-huts (*khargāh*) of the Kkarlukh are found there.”<sup>462</sup> The Chigil-Turks are described similarly to the Kirgiz: “They own tents and felt-huts (*khayma wa khargāh*).”<sup>463</sup> The Turkic speaking Tukhs’ way of life has the following characters: “Their wealth is in horses, sheep, furs, tents and felt-huts (*khayma wa khargāh*).”<sup>464</sup> The lifestyle of the Kimāks is also connected with yurts: “Its people live in felt-huts (*khargāh*) and both in summer and winter wander along the grazing-grounds, quaters, and meadows. Their commodities are sable-martens and sheep. Their food in summer is milk, and in winter preserved meat.”<sup>465</sup> As for the Oguz living in the Kazakh steppe, it is said: “They have no towns, but the people owning felt-huts (*khargāh*) are very numerous.”<sup>466</sup>

The description of Eastern Europe contains several pieces of data about yurts, which surprisingly are mentioned in the section on Moravia: “They own tents and felt-huts (*qubba wa khargāh*).”<sup>467</sup> The Khazarian Pechenegs who moved to the Black Sea region, the habitat of the Magyars prior to 895, had similar dwellings: “They own felt-huts and tents (*khargāh wa qubba*).”<sup>468</sup> The Volga Bulgars were characterized as nomads of Central Asia: “They own tents and felt-tents (*khayma wa khargāh*).”<sup>469</sup> The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, in contrast with the Balkhī tradition, recorded yurts and not wood houses among the Burtas: “They own felt-huts (*khargāh*).”<sup>470</sup> In all cases the anonymous author applied the Persian word *khargāh* to nomadic yurts, but he added the Arab equivalent *khayma* tent in five cases, while he supplemented it with the word *qubba* in two

460 Sotoodeh 1962, 77–78; Minorsky 1937, 95; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 193.

461 Sotoodeh 1962, 80; Minorsky 1937, 96; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 197.

462 Sotoodeh 1962, 82; Minorsky 1937, 97; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 198.

463 Sotoodeh 1962, 83; Minorsky 1937, 99; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 200.

464 Sotoodeh 1962, 84; Minorsky 1937, 99; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 201.

465 Sotoodeh 1962, 85; Minorsky 1937, 99–100; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 203.

466 Sotoodeh 1962, 86; Minorsky 1937, 100; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 206.

467 Sotoodeh 1962, 190; Minorsky 1937, 160; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 214.

468 Sotoodeh 1962, 191; Minorsky 1937, 160; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 215.

469 Sotoodeh 1962, 194; Minorsky 1937, 162; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 219.

470 Sotoodeh 1962, 194; Minorsky 1937, 162; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 219.

cases (Moravia and the Khazarian Pechenegs). The data cannot be interpreted as indicating a territorial distribution, but rather stems from stylistic considerations, since the use of synonyms was a preferred technique in the eloquent style in Muslim literature. Ibrāhīm ibn Waṣīf described the lifestyle of the Turks in the 10th century as follows: “Some of them live on mountain peaks and in prairies in felt tents (*khiyam al-lubūd*).”<sup>471</sup>

Togan has called attention to another important yurt-type, the car tent. Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī wrote of them among the Khazars at the beginning of the 10th century: “The Khagan was in his cart, which was called الجداة *al-j.dāda*,<sup>472</sup> it was covered with various carpets, it was overlaid by a dome (*qubba*) of brocade, and on the dome (*qubba*) was a pomegranate of gold.”<sup>473</sup> ... “and 10 covered wagons (domed carts *qubba*), the doors of which were covered with silver and golden plates, with sable furs spread out inside, covered with brocade. They also took with them another 20 wagons in which the various utensils, golden and silver vessels and other things were carried.”<sup>474</sup> According to Andrews, there were two different types of carts: the first was a typical nomadic car tent, while the other, a car having a curved roof, was used for transporting goods.<sup>475</sup>

Two European travelers gave a precise, almost ethnographic description of the medieval yurts of the Mongol period. Plano Carpini wrote about the Mongols’ dwellings: “Tartar homes are round and prepared like tents made cleverly of laths and sticks. In the middle of the roof there is a round window through which light comes in and smoke can leave, because they always have a fire in the center. The walls and the roof are covered by felt and even the doors are made of felt. Some huts are large and some are small, depending upon the wealth or poverty of the owners. Some are taken apart quickly and put back together again and carried everywhere; some cannot be taken apart but are moved on carts. The smallest are put on a cart drawn by one ox, the larger by two or three or more depending upon how large it is and how many are needed to move it. Whenever they travel, whether to war or other places, they always take their homes with them.”<sup>476</sup> According to Andrews the two types of tents, the dismountable yurt or trellis tent and the tent mounted on a cart, can be clearly distinguished from each other.

471 Kmoskó 1/2, 227; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 237–238.

472 Golden 1980, I, 247–248.

473 Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī 8, 258; Togan 1939, 120.

474 Czeglédy 1960, 80; Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī 8, 364; Togan 1939, 120–121.

475 Andrews 1999, 192–193.

476 Hildinger 1996, 41; Schmieder 1997, 45–46; Györffy 1986, 97; Gießauf 1995, 88–89, 131–132, note 357; Andrews 1999, 466–477.



More detailed information with additional notes are provided by Rubruk:

They set up the dwelling in which they sleep on a circular frame of interlaced sticks converging into a little round hoop on the top, from which projects above a collar as a chimney, and this (framework) they cover over with white felt. Frequently they coat the felt with chalk, or white clay, or powdered bone, to make it appear whiter, and sometimes also (they make the felt) black. The felt around this collar on top they decorate with various pretty designs. Before the entry they also suspend felt ornamented with various embroidered designs in color [J: they hang up felt patchwork in various patterns in front of the entrance]. For they embroider the felt, colored or otherwise, making vines and trees, birds and beasts. And they make these houses so large that they are sometimes thirty feet in width. I myself once measured the width between the wheel-tracks of a cart twenty feet, and when the house was on the cart it projected beyond the wheels on either side five feet at least. I have myself counted to one cart twenty-two oxen drawing one house, eleven abreast across the width of the cart, and the other eleven before them. The axle of the cart was as large as the mast of a ship, and one man stood in the entry of the house on the cart driving the oxen. Furthermore they weave light twigs into squares of the size of a large chest, and over it from one end to the other they put a turtle-back [J: carapace] also of twigs, and in the front end they make a little doorway; and then they cover this coffer or little house with black felt coated with tallow or ewe's milk, so that the rain cannot penetrate it, and they decorate it likewise with embroidery work. And in such coffers they put all their bedding and valuables, and they tie them tightly on high carts drawn by camels, so that they can cross rivers (without getting wet). Such coffers they never take off the cart. When they set down their dwelling-houses, they always turn the door to the south and after that they place the carts with coffers on either side near the house at a half stone's throw, so that the dwelling stands between two rows of carts as between two walls ... When they have fixed their dwelling, the door turned to the south, they set up the couch of the master on the north side. The side for the women is always the east side, that is to say, on the left of the house of the master, he sitting on his couch his face turned to the south. The side for the men is the west side, that is, on the right. Men coming into the house would never hang up their bows on the side of the woman. And over the head of the master is always an image of felt, like a doll or statuette, which they call the brother of the master: another similar one is above the head of the mistress, which they call the brother of the mistress, and they are attached to

the wall: and higher up between the two of them is a little lank one (*macilenta*), who is, as it were, the guardian of the whole dwelling. The mistress places in her house on her right side, in a conspicuous place at the foot of her couch, a goat-skin full of wool or other stuff, and beside it a very little statuette looking in the direction of attendants and women. Beside the entry on the woman's side is yet another image, with a cow's tit for the women, who milk the cows: for it is part of the duty of the women to milk the cows. On the other side of the entry, toward the men, is another statue with a mare's tit for the men who milk the mares.<sup>477</sup>

Both descriptions are consistent with modern ethnographic observations. The yurt is divided into two parts by a line drawn between the entrance and the hearth in the middle. One half is the female side and the other is the male side. In addition, there is a hierarchical order within each half, the most honored place opposite the door, and the honor of the other positions on the sides decreasing towards the door.<sup>478</sup> There are two important differences between the Turkic and Mongolian yurt. The Turkic-speaking peoples placed the yurt so that its entrance faced east, while the Mongols chose a southern orientation.<sup>479</sup> The roof bars of the Mongol yurt are straight, while the Turks hunched them so that the tent roof was domed. The black tent, the basic type of Bedouin tent, differs typologically from the circular yurt of the Turkic and Mongol-speaking peoples.<sup>480</sup>

Andrews studied the historical development of nomad tents in detail. The early nomads, i.e. the Scythians and the Sarmatians, had two types of buildings that could be mounted on cars: they set up one with a square plan and a curved roof, or a dome-conical roof was set on a circular base. These types spread throughout the steppe region. The dome-shaped tent with handrails can be detected from the 5th century BC. The Sarmatians built a pyramid-shaped hut supported by wooden poles. The cone-shaped tent spread north of the steppe region among the raindeer-herders. There is evidence of huts covered with felt among the peoples of the Yüeh-chih, Wu-sun, and the Hsiung-nu tribes had cars and cone-shaped tents covered with felt.<sup>481</sup>

477 <http://depts.washington.edu/silkroad/texts/rubruck.html#yurts>; Risch, 1934, 36–41; Györfy 1986, 207–210; Andrews 1999, 467–472, 485–488, 495–500.

478 K. Csilléry 1982, 94–96, 146–159; Róna-Tas 1997, 177; Andrews 1999, 482–491.

479 According to Andrews, the eastern orientation was introduced during the Liao dynasty (1999, 250–252).

480 Róna-Tas 1961, 79–102; 1963, 47–56; 1989, 134–141; 1997, 173–177; Gabain 1971, 169–173; 1973, 76–77; Andrews 1999.

481 Andrews, 1999, 7–63.

Turning to Eastern Europe, we find no clear reference to the yurt in the Hun Empire.<sup>482</sup> As for the Avars, Mauricius mentioned their tents in his *Strategikon*: “It is well to have the tents of the Avar type, which combine practicality with good appearance.”<sup>483</sup> The treasure of Nagyszentmiklós is attributed to the Avars and there is a scratched figure on the bottom of Jug 2 which could be identified as either a tent or an inscription.<sup>484</sup> Beshevliev collected the Greek data about tents among the Danube Bulgars.<sup>485</sup> The scanty and sporadic information about the tents of the Huns, Avars and Danube Bulgars suggests that these people did not know and use the yurt. This type of tent spread in Eastern Europe, presumably with the westward extension of the Türk Empire, and reached as far as the Crimea. Fl’orov wrote a monograph on the archaeological sites of yurt-like dwellings in Eastern Europe. Such houses have been excavated in forty settlements in Eastern Europe dating from the late 7th century to the beginning of the 10th century.<sup>486</sup>

Klára K. Csilléry studied the beginnings of the habitation culture of the Hungarians and was convinced that the Magyars who conquered the Carpathian Basin lived in yurts. She suggested that al-Bakrī used the two terms *qubba* and *khayma* to emphasize the difference between yurts (the first word) and the “rounded twig hut” (the second). The two types of housing might have reflected social differences.<sup>487</sup> Her assumption may be challenged, for al-Bakrī copied the original and added further explanation for those Arab readers who were acquainted with Bedouin tents. He must have referred to a tent in contrast to stone or wooden house, and its form was round and domed. Incidentally, Ibn Ḥayyān, who lived in Andalusia, as did al-Bakrī, recorded of the Magyars: “They have neither towns nor houses, but they live in felt tents (*khīyam min lubūd*) in scattered places.”<sup>488</sup> The author described the tent as made of felt, which is clearly not characteristic of the Bedouin tent, but is of the yurt.

482 Maenchen-Helfen 1973, 178–180; 1978, 136–137.

483 Dennis 1984, 13; “Es ist aber gut, die Zelte nach der Art der Awaren zu haben, weil diese Zelte zugleich prächtig und nützlich sind.” *Das Strategikon des Maurikios*, 83; Szádeczky-Kardoss 1998, 81; see Szádeczky-Kardoss 1981, 70–71; Fodor 1977b, 67–69, 81–82.

484 Bálint and Róna-Tas disputed the pictorial representation. Róna-Tas suspected a conical tent in the representation (Bálint, 1998, 238–239; 2004, 565; Róna-Tas 1998, 943–944).

485 Beševliev 1981, 401–403.

486 Fl’orov 1996.

487 K. Csilléry 1982, 65–71.

488 Chalmeta et al. 1979, 482; НКІФ, 65.

Kristó collected the data on the tents of the Hungarians prior to the Mongol invasion.<sup>489</sup> In addition to the accounts of the Jayhānī tradition and Ibn Ḥayyān, he quoted the passage of the Byzantine emperor, Leo the Wise: “In time of war they keep the required amount of horses nearby, and guarded them in shackles around their Turkic tent<sup>490</sup> until deployment.”<sup>491</sup> The *Russian Primary Chronicle* recorded the following concerning the Magyars for the year 898: “... on arriving at the Dnieper, they pitched camp (*vezha*).<sup>492</sup> They were nomads like the Polovcians.”<sup>493</sup> The tents of the Magyars are mentioned in Latin sources from the time of the campaigns against the West and Byzantium in the 10th century.<sup>494</sup>

In 11th–12th centuries tents were used in the Hungarian Kingdom, partly an inheritance from nomadic tradition.<sup>495</sup> According to the Hungarian chronicles compiled in the 14th century, the Hungarian king Béla II (1131–1141) sat “with his officers and his men in a tent (*in papilione*)” during a campaign in 1132.<sup>496</sup> Otto of Freising visited the Hungarian Kingdom in 1147 and reported: “Due to their barbarous habits there are few stone-building and houses. Since they have completely miserable dwellings mostly of reed, rarely of wood and even more rarely of stone in the villages and settlements, they live rather during the whole summer and autumn in tents (*papiliones*).”<sup>497</sup> The Balkhī tradition cited above described the same phenomenon in connection with the Khazars and Volga Bulgars.

Frederick Barbarossa marched to the Holy Land to take part in Third Crusade and he passed through in 1189. Arnold of Lübeck noted that the wife of the Hungarian king Béla III donated him “a magnificent residential tent (*tentorium optimum et domum*).”<sup>498</sup> The royal tent of the Hungarian king was taken as booty during the Mongol invasion of Hungary in 1241–1242, as the papal envoy Plano Carpini saw it in the quarters of Batu on the lower Volga in 1246: “He

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489 Kristó 1996, 41–52.

490 The Byzantine term “Turkic tent” might reflect the same idea as the Arabic *qubba turkiyya*, which explicitly denotes the yurt.

491 Moravcsik 1984, 19; see Kristó 1996, 41.

492 Nomadic tents. Etymology of the Russian word *vezha*: Fasmer 1986 I, 285; Novoselcev 1989, 13–18.

493 Cross-Sherbowitz Wetzor 1953, 62; HKÍF 174.

494 Kristó 1996, 43–44.

495 K. Csilléry 1982, 167–172.

496 Kristó 1996, 45.

497 Schmidt 1965, 195; Kristó 1996, 46; K. Csilléry 1982, 170–171.

498 Kristó 1996, 47; see K. Csilléry 1982, 156–157.

has great and beautiful tents (*tentoria*) of linen which belonged to the King of Hungary.<sup>499</sup> The rulers of the nomads and the medieval Christian Hungarian kings had royal tents which had no connection with yurts. The descriptions of the royal tents or pavilions of the Volga Bulgars, as well as of the golden tents of the Khazar and Uygur Khagans, were quoted above. The colour gold was reserved for the great Khan of the Mongols, so it may have been the royal colour among the earlier nomads as well.<sup>500</sup> The tent of the king or pavilion and the royal palace stood in semantic relationship; Kubinyi studied the Hungarian word *palota* 'palace' and *terem* 'room, hall' and pointed out that they had similar meanings in the early Middle Ages.<sup>501</sup> The latter word *terem* is a loanword in Hungarian, and it has been suggested recently that the Hungarian word referred to a large tent, the magnificent tent of the ruler or a palace, and that the word was borrowed from the Avar language through a Slavic intermediary.<sup>502</sup>

There are two early Turkic loanwords in Hungarian connected with tents: *terem* and *sátor* 'tent'. The former was transmitted through a Slavic language from Turkic, while the latter was borrowed directly.<sup>503</sup> Fodor has pointed out that as the yurt originated in Central Asia, it did not exist among the early Iranian speaking peoples and was probably brought to Eastern Europe by the Huns; Hungarian *sátor*, being a Chuvash-type loanword, was taken over with the meaning of yurt.<sup>504</sup> Later, the yurt spread with the Türks in Eastern Europe circa the 6th or 7th century. The Hungarian *sátor* is an Old Turkic loanword in Hungarian, which was a typical cultural word coming from the south to the Turkic speaking steppe dwellers and whose ultimate source can be Sanskrit or Persian. According to Róna-Tas it was a canvas tent without precise definition.<sup>505</sup>

However, Hungarian *terem* 'hall, chamber, great room' has been regarded as of either Turkic or Slavic origin. Turkic *termä* is of Greek derivation, and

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499 Hildinger 1996, 101; Schmieder 1997, 105; Györfly 1986, 162; Gießauf 1995, 115, 212; Andrews 1999, 467, 504–505. The Persian historian Juwaynī mentioned that the Mongols captured the tent of the king of Hungary at the battle of Muhi in 1241 (Boyle 1958 I, 271; Ligeti MNyTK II, 82; Andrews 1999, 576).

500 Gießauf 1995, 218, note 636; Göckenjan, Sweeney 1985, 105, 117, notes 34–35; Györfly 1986, 77, 169–170, 290.

501 Kubinyi 1992, 55–63.

502 Ligeti dealt with the word *terem* several times (1986, 275–276); Róna-Tas discussed the term in two studies: 1995, 417–430; 1996a, 181–188.

503 Ligeti 1986, 57; Róna-Tas 1997, 178–179. Cf. Róna-Tas, Berta 2011, 703–706, 901–903.

504 Fodor 1977, 67–69; 1983, 95–98.

505 Róna-Tas 1997, 173; Róna-Tas, Berta 2011, 703–706.

the Russian form might have originated from either Greek or Turkic, while Mongolian *terem* seems to be an early Turkic loanword. The Turkic *termä* denoted the cover or lattice of the yurt, and sometimes the yurt itself. The Hungarian *terem* may have been borrowed from the Slavicized Turkic, probably through the Avar language.<sup>506</sup> According to Andrews, Turkic *terme* might go back ultimately to the first element of the compound *tegirme ev* 'round house,' which might have developed into *terme*, denoting the yurt in Western Old Turkic in the south Russian steppe. The meaning of the Slavic and Hungarian forms of the Turkic word shifted from yurt to 'tower, palace, room'. He concluded that the yurt with lattice structure was called *terme* in the languages of the Bulgars and Khazars. This term was borrowed not only by their western neighbours, i.e. the Slavic-speaking peoples and Hungarians, but through the mediation of the Kipchak/Cumans<sup>507</sup> was spread among the Mongols.<sup>508</sup>

Róna-Tas collected the proper names that can be connected with this word: 1. The Khazar army commander T'armač, who took part in a campaign against the Arabs in 730; 2. *Termperch*, a place name in Pannonia in 871 recorded in *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* that can be reconstructed as *Teremburg* 'palace-mountain', where the first element is a Slavicized Avar word and the second is Germanic *Berg*; 3. Τερματζούς, the great-grandson of Árpád, the founder of Hungarian dynasty in *De administrando imperio* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, whose traditional interpretation was *Tormás* but which Róna-Tas reconstructed as *Termecsü* [Termečü].<sup>509</sup> These data prove that the word *terme/terem* was widespread in Eastern Europe in the 8th–10th centuries. The Hungarian *terem* was borrowed from West Old Turkic, meaning first 'yurt, felt-tent', and later as it gradually lost its importance during the process of settlement of the population its meaning shifted to 'hall, palace'. The word *sátor* is an early Turkic loanword as well that denoted tents in general.

In conclusion, the term *qubba* in the Jayhānī tradition means yurt, the Turkic domed-shaped latticework-frame felt tent. In Arabic the *qubba* spread as the dome-shaped grave monument, or mausoleum. This tomb type may have developed partly from the yurt of the steppe and partly from Sassanid architecture in Central Asia, Eastern Iran and Transoxania. The grave or mausoleum

506 Róna-Tas 1995, 425–426; Róna-Tas, Berta 2011, 901–903.

507 Györfly has collected the names of the various parts of the Cuman tent from *Codex Cumanicus* (Györfly 1990, 255–256).

508 Andrews 1999, 444–448.

509 Róna-Tas 1995, 417–419, 422, 424–425; 1996a 185, 182.

of the Samanid Ismā'īl ibn Aḥmad, one of the earliest monuments (dating from the year 907) in Bukhara, can be still seen today.<sup>510</sup> The term *khayma* mentioned by al-Bakrī is a genuine Arab word denoting a mobile house, a tent covered with animal fur or linen. In the Middle East the Bedouins used a tent made of black goat hair, and it was square in form. In Central Asia, the yurt-type tent with a circular plan covered with felt spread. Both can be found in Turkmenia. In the 7th–10th centuries the word *khayma* denoted both the black tent of the Bedouins and the Turkic yurt in the Muslim sources.<sup>511</sup> As al-Bakrī added the word *khayma* to *qubba*, which was in his source, he did so to indicate to the Arab reader that it was a tent with a dome shape. The Hungarian rulers may have had large, decorated tents for banquets and receptions, similar to the practice of the Volga Bulgars and the Khazars as recorded in the Muslim literature. On the analogy of the description of the Khazar usage of yurts mounted on carts or wagons, the Magyars might have possessed similar wagons as a form of dwelling before the conquest of the Carpathian Basin.

### *Nomadic Way of Life*

The second sentence of the Jayhānī tradition defined another element of the nomadic way of life, migration. While Ibn Rusta and al-Marwazī preserved the same sentence, reflecting the original text, al-Bakrī reworded it and Gardīzī transformed the original report by describing their territory as *ṣahrā'* 'desert, plain, steppe'. Zahoder pointed out that the meaning of the word in Eastern Europe was 'flat steppe'. The same term is found in connection with the Khazars when they left their town for the plain (the steppe), and with the merchant route in the steppe that led between the Slavs and Pechenegs. The territory inhabited by the Khazars, Hungarians, Burtas, Slavs and Pechenegs was characterized with the same term as steppe.<sup>512</sup>

The Persian texts of 'Awfī and Shukrallāh, copying the work of al-Marwazī, provided a new interpretation, as the nomads migrated with their animals instead of following the pastures. The Turkish translation of Shukrallāh supplemented the mention of the animals with the chattels, the tents and the retinue.<sup>513</sup> Janicsek suggested that these additions were not later interpolations

510 E. Diez, *Kubba*: EI<sup>2</sup> v, 289–296.

511 C.E. Bosworth, *Khayma in Central Asia*; J. Chelhold, *Khayma in the Near East*: EI<sup>2</sup> iv, 1146–1151.

512 Zahoder 1962, 96.

513 *Bār wa bengāh wa ḥawāshī wa taḥti khargāh wa mawāshī* "with their chattels, tents, the retinue [of the ruler], the court of the ruler"; Janicsek's reading and translation: *Bār wa*

of the copyist in the Persian original, but rather that these parts might reflect unknown fragments from a variant of al-Jayhānī's text.<sup>514</sup> Unfortunately, the formation of the text tradition points to a later interpolation, since the works representing the older version emphasized that they followed the grazing-grounds. In paragraph 8, al-Jayhānī gave further details concerning the way of life of the Magyars, saying that their winter quarters were on the banks of a great river where they engaged in fishing.

The classical image of Arab nomadism in the Muslim tradition was studied in detail by Goldziher in 1876. The Arab image had a number of antecedents. The Hebrew text of the Book of Psalms 23.2 of the Bible referred to the two most important features of nomadism: "green pastures ... still waters"<sup>515</sup> Goldziher called attention to two aspects of bedouin nomadism in the Arab tradition. The expression *بنو ماء السماء* *banū mā' al-samā'* 'sons of the rain, children of the heavenly waters' refers to the Arabs, according to the commentary to the *ḥadīth* collection, and it is added in explanation that the majority of them depended on pastures of good quality. There is another commentary to a pagan Arabic poem saying: "The bedouins always follow the rain and the places where raindrops fall from the sky."<sup>516</sup> The Koran reflects the same image: "It is He who sends down rain from the sky; from it is drink and from it is foliage in which you pasture [animals]." (16:10), "Do you not see that Allah has sent down rain from the sky and the earth becomes green? Indeed, Allah is Subtle and Acquainted." (22:63)

The Muslim literature preserved the importance of rain among the Turkic nomads. According to Gardīzī and the author of the *Mujmal al-tawārīkh*, Japheth asked the Lord to grant him a pebble or stone suitable for bringing rain because He had given him a dry area which is poor in water. The Lord was

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*bengāh wa ḥawāshī wa taht wa khargāh wa mawāshī* "Together their luggage, their servants, the throne, the tents and the animals" (Janicsek 1929, 229); Czeglédy's translation. "with all its chattels and tents, the retinue (of the ruler) and the throne, the tents and the animals" (MEH, 88). The French translation of Hazai: "avec des paquets et des bagages, des serviteurs, des tents et des porteurs" (Hazai 1957, 164). Nyitrai's interpretation "They used to travel with the luggages, tents (*bengāh*), retinue, tent poles (*taht-i hargāh*) and cattle (*mavāshī*)" (Nyitrai 1996, 75). The different translations result from the interpretation of the following words: *Bār wa bengāh* 'Movable, tents, household furniture and utensils' (Steingass 1977, 203); 'luggage, baggage, movables, effects' (Redhouse 1968, 130); *ḥawāshī* 'followers, attendants' (Steingass 1977, 433); *taht* 'throne' and *takhta* 'wood' (Redhouse 1968, 1084).

514 Janicsek 1929, 231–233.

515 Goldziher 1876, 67.

516 Goldziher 1876, 68–69.



gracious and gave it to him, but war broke out among his descendants over possession of the stone.<sup>517</sup> The rain had the same importance for the Turkic nomads as the Arab bedouins.

The great Arab medieval historian, Ibn Khaldūn devoted special attention to the nomadic way of life in his famous treatise on history, in which he distinguished two forms of nomadic life: the bedouin-type based on the camel, and nomads breeding sheep and cattle:

Those who make their living from animals requiring pasturage, such as sheep and cattle, usually travel around in order to find pasture and water for their animals, since it is better for them to move around in the land. They are called: "sheepmen" (*shāwiyya*), that is, men who live on sheep and cattle. They do not go deep into the desert, because they would not find good pastures there. Such people include the Berbers, the Turks and their relatives, the Turkomans and the Slavs, for instance. Those who make their living by raising camels move around more. They wander deeper into the desert, because the hilly pastures with their plants and shrubs do not furnish enough subsistence for camels. They must feed on the desert shrubs and drink the salty desert water. They must move around the desert regions during the winter, in flight from the harmful cold to the warm desert air. In the desert sands, camels can find places to give birth to their young ones. Of all animals, camels have the hardest delivery and the greatest need for warmth in connection with it. (Camel nomads) are therefore forced to make excursions deep (into the desert). Frequently, too, they are driven from the hills by the militia, and they penetrate farther into the desert, because they do not want the militia to mete out justice to them or to punish them for their hostile acts. As a result, they are the most savage human beings that exist. Compared with sedentary people, they are on a level with wild, untamable (animals) and dumb beasts of prey. Such people are the Arabs. In the West, the nomadic Berbers and the Zanatah are their counterparts, and in the East, the Kurds, the Turkomans, and the Turks. The Arabs, however, make deeper excursions into the desert and are more rooted in desert life (than the other groups), because they live exclusively on camels, while the other groups live on sheep and cattle, as well as camels.<sup>518</sup>

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517 Molnár 1994, 9–15.

518 Rosenthal 1978, 162.

Khazanov distinguishes the nomadism of the Eurasian steppe, the Near East and Middle East from historical, geographical and typological aspects in his monograph *Nomads and the outside world*. The Eurasian form spread in the steppe zone, which stretched from Mongolia via the Kazakh steppe to the Carpathian Basin. The agriculture areas are well separated from the steppe. Agriculture is possible in the forest-steppe without irrigation; however, the nomads pastured there only in summer. The semi-desert is only suitable for agriculture with irrigation. The river banks or the slopes of the mountain hills provide opportunity for agriculture in the steppe zone. At the same time, there was high-quality agriculture in the Kazakh steppe and in the steppe zone of Eastern Europe.<sup>519</sup> The animals specific to this region are horses and sheep; the goat plays only a minor role and its use tends to indicate impoverishment. Cattle had a reduced importance here also, but they were more numerous in the steppe than in the semi-deserts and deserts, and in general the larger their number, the greater the importance of agriculture in the economy of the community. It is indisputable that ox pulled the wagons of the nomads prior to the Mongol period. Camels were used only in the southern areas, in the semi-deserts, as beast of burden.

Another characteristic of Eurasian nomadism was the mixed composition of livestock, which resulted primarily from the fact that in winter only horses could uncover grass under the snow with their hooves. Nomadic migration generally followed a north-south movement. The critical factors were water in the summer and pastureland in the other seasons. Nomadic routes could extend several hundred kilometers (150–500 miles), and they remained almost unchanged for centuries. Indeed, Khazanov claimed that the routes of migration did not change at all in Eastern Europe for two millennia. The diet of the nomads consisted of milk products, meat and vegetables. The calorie distribution of the Mongols in the beginning of the 20th century was: milk products 55.31%, vegetable foods 24.38%, and meat 20.31%.

Khazanov classified the nomads of the Near East as practicing a different type of nomadism that was common to the inhabitants of the Arabian Peninsula and the Sahara, as well as North and Northeast Africa. The distinction between nomads and semi-nomads was more significant in this region than in the Eurasian steppe. The livestock consist primarily of camel, sheep and goat. The camel is not only a beast of burden, but may also be ridden

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519 Khazanov mentioned the details of al-'Umari and Rubruk about the agriculture in the Golden Horde, but he also brings examples from earlier nomadic peoples, e.g. the Scythians, Sarmatians, Wu-sun, Hsiung-nu, Kimäk and Oguz (Khazanov 1984, 45).

and milked. The horse was primarily a prestige animal for riding, and its milk and meat could not be consumed.

Another fundamental difference between the two types is that the different species are kept separate, because sheep and goats, unlike the camel, must be watered every three to four days. As migration depends upon the availability of water, migration routes are less stable in the hot and dry zone; the Bedouins follow the rain in winter and summer. Their menus consist primarily of milk products and vegetable foods, and meat has a minor role. According to Khazanov, the pastoralists of the Middle East were the nomads of Asia Minor, Iran and Afghanistan, and they practices a transitional form or nomadism between the Eurasian and Near Eastern types: goats and sheep determined the composition of the flock, while horses and camels have restricted role, and for environmental and geographical reasons nomads and farmers live in a closer symbiosis than in the other two types of nomadic society. The migration routes are regulated and permanent and the diet is similar to those of the other two nomadic systems.<sup>520</sup>

As Khazanov has emphasized, the way of life of Bedouin nomads in the Near Eastern differed in some key respects from that on the Eurasian steppe, such as survival in winter. The deserts of the Near East suddenly change under winter rains into flowering meadows and the Bedouin's flocks follow the rich pastures that sprout after the rains. Rain and pasture form an inseparable unit.<sup>521</sup> In contrast, winter is the most difficult time of year in the Eurasian steppe, for if too much snow falls or a sudden thaw is followed by severe frost, the horses cannot uncover grass, which leads to such catastrophic consequences as the flock starving and perishing.<sup>522</sup> This factor is of primary importance, for Muslim authors clearly applied the image of nomadism in their own culture to the nomads of the Eurasian steppe.<sup>523</sup> When al-Jayhānī, as reflected in the books of Ibn Rusta and al-Marwazī, wrote about the pursuit of herbage and vegetation,<sup>524</sup> he adapted a Muslim topos to the situation of the Magyars. Al-Bakrī

520 Khazanov 1984, 44–63; see C.S. Coon, *Badw*: EI<sup>2</sup> I, 872–892.

521 Simon 1983, 127, 138; C.S. Coon, *Badw*: EI<sup>2</sup> I, 872.

522 For the notorious phenomenon of *yut* in the life of nomads see Khazanov 1984, 73–74; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 113, note 86. István Fodor cited the classic study of Károly Cs. Sebestyén on the difficulties of the winter for the nomads of the Eurasian steppe (Fodor, 1992, 80–81).

523 The most important historical consequences of the differences between the Eurasian and Middle Eastern nomadism: Simon 1983, 137–139; Khazanov 1993, 461–479; Zimonyi 2002, 107.

524 *Kalā'* 'herbage', *khiṣb* 'abundance of herbage' Lane VII, 2623; II, 748.

reinforced this misconception when he rephrased this information and clearly referred to Bedouin nomadism, because, as previously highlighted, the search for the rain-soaked pastures is a feature of Near Eastern nomadism. Similarly, al-Bakrī's mention of Bedouin tents shows that for him the Eurasian nomads did not differ from the well-known Bedouins of his own culture.

The study of the characteristic features of Eurasian nomadism allows us to understand the reality behind the stereotypes of nomads. In the 1980s two major works synthesized the research on nomadism in Hungarian historiography. The anthology *Nomád társadalmak és államalakulatok* [Nomadic societies and state formations] consisted of articles from different fields. The other work is a summary of research on the historical significance of the Eurasian nomads by Katalin U. Kóhalmi entitled *The Central Asian culture syndrome*.<sup>525</sup> These sources are used for this overview. The classic form of Eurasian steppe nomadism evolved in the 9th–7th centuries BC, and the first typical description of it can be found in Herodotus' work on the Scythians: "For when men have no established cities or fortresses, but all are house-bearers and mounted archers, living not by tilling the soil but by cattle-rearing and carrying their dwellings on wagons, how should these not be invincible and unapproachable?"<sup>526</sup>

A similar description of the Hsiung-nu may be read in the Chinese sources,<sup>527</sup> and of the Huns in the Roman history of Ammianus Marcellinus.<sup>528</sup> These sources reflect the otherness, the strangeness of nomadic societies, and added to it the militancy which posed a constant threat to the adjacent agricultural civilizations both in the West and in the East. As most of the sources were recorded in sedentary civilizations, the image of the nomads was shaped by fear and hatred. The Türks, Uygurs and Mongols provide the only sources of their own culture among the nomadic peoples of the steppe. As for the Magyars, western sources, especially the Latin chronicles, reflect the same negative image of nomads when discussing the Magyars.<sup>529</sup> It is noteworthy, however, that the classical image of the Scythians, i.e. a nomadic image that can be traced back to Herodotus and characterized by negative topoi, could hold in certain respects a positive content: the image of pure, pristine barbarians in contrast with a decadent, effete urban culture.<sup>530</sup>

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525 Uray-Kóhalmi 1989, 47–52.

526 Herodotus II, 247; Feix 1988, 537.

527 Vásáry 1999, 33.

528 Ammianus Marcellinus, 382–387; Seyfahrt 1968–1971, IV, 245, 247.

529 Recently a comprehensive analysis of the emergence of the image of the Magyars in the 10th century has been published by Kellner 1997.

530 Györfy 1988, 516–517.

Due to the archaeological, historical and ethnological research of the past decades, a new image of nomadism has been formed. Nomadism was the only way of life in the Eurasian steppes that not only ensured survival under such technical and natural circumstances, but further created a special culture that affected the history of classical and medieval worlds. Nomadic peoples were successful in forming vast empires that mediated trade and intellectual property between different civilizations.

According to the old traditional theory of the emergence of nomadism, the nomads domesticated wild animals. This view is outdated, for archaeological excavations have proved that all animals had been domesticated before nomadism spread in the steppe. The process took place in the agricultural zone adjacent to the steppe belt, and these communities engaged in both stock-breeding and tith. The Eurasian form of nomadism appeared in the 9th–7th centuries BC, as previously stated. The steppe zones in the vicinity of peasant communities were first used as summer pastures for grazing sheep, horses and cattles. Later, minor groups crossed the steppe several times in horse-drawn chariots or on horseback for military and commercial purposes. The evolution of horsback-riding and mobile dwellings and carts made the formation of such intensively stock-breeding communities possible. The dominance of stock-raising could be facilitated by political factors, internal conflicts, wars, etc., and as a result, these communities gradually took possession of the steppe.

The first nomads were Iranian-speaking peoples who brought with them a rich heritage from the centers of their ancestral Near Eastern culture: They possessed domesticated animals: horses, sheep, goats, cattle; they knew the cultivation of various crops; they had a developed metal art, and in addition, they used spoke-wheeled wagons and saddles. Their armament consisted of a short sword, lance and reflex bow. Their material culture was characterized by magnificent textiles and carpets. Their mentality, world-view and death cult were taken to the steppe. During the transition to nomadism they faced several difficulties: adapting to the vast distances, water shortages due to a scarcity of springs and rivers, and the cold winter and hot summer of the continental climate. Nevertheless, life in the steppe also had its advantages. Herds could graze and multiply freely in the spacious grazing-grounds. Nomadic settlements in the heart of the steppe were practically inaccessible to strangers, whereas in contrast nomads could visit neighboring agricultural civilizations or the mountains and forests rich in resources, which were within easy reach by horse-back.

The first nomadic groups made contact with the population of the forest zone in the northern part of the Kazakh steppe and Altai mountains, who were soon drawn by the magical allure of nomadism and formed a reserve for the nomads. The Finno-Ugric-speaking elements that shaped Hungarian

ethnogenesis from the linguistic point of view were forest dwellers, but the same was true also of the Mongols in the eastern half of the Eurasian steppe. The forest dwellers enriched nomadism with new cultural elements, including special forms of hunting and related cults, furs—which not only opened up new possibilities of clothing, but were valuable trade items—and implements of bone and antler.

After the emergence of steppe nomadism, its main features remained constant until the industrial revolution, although some fields of the nomadic life were subjected to permanent changes. The characteristic features of steppe nomadism can be summarized under the following headings:

### 1 Stock-Breeding

The verbal representation of wealth and riches in some languages of nomadic peoples is the name of a species. A clear example is Hungarian *barom* 'livestock, cattle', a borrowing of Old Turkic *barım*, 'property, wealth',<sup>531</sup> with the secondary meaning of 'cattle, livestock' as a term for wealth, which latter was borrowed in Hungarian.<sup>532</sup> Herds were carefully guarded, and the slaughter of animals for their meat was extremely rare, the required quantity of meat being obtained through hunting. The five most common species of livestock were the horse, sheep, goat, cattle, and two-humped camel. Horses were grazed year-round in small herds (20–30 mares) led by a stallion, and the mares were milked and koumiss fermented from their milk. In addition, while horses were used for riding and for carrying loads, their meat was consumed.

Veronika Veit studied Mongolian horse-breeding in detail. The population of Mongolia is two million, and at the same time the number of horses is 2.2 million in the late 1980s. Geldings are used only for riding; they are castrated at age three. Mares give birth in May and are milked beginning in June for two to four months, giving an average of 1.7 to 2 liters of milk daily. The riding distances from the years between 1921 and 1933 have been recorded: a horseman could ride 320 km in seven days, 450 km in eight days, 640 km in twelve days, and 1800 km in twenty-five days. The horse also played an important role in the beliefs and epics of nomadic culture. The horse sacrifice was commonly practiced at funerals, but it was also part of the ceremony of ancestor worship and was seen as a solemn covenant.<sup>533</sup> The sheep was the most important animal of the pastoral economy. It was kept in large flocks, and every part of

531 Clauson 1972, 366.

532 TESZ I, 254; Ligeti 1986, 278–279; Róna-Tas, Berta 2011, 99–103.

533 Veit 1989, 163–169.

the animal could be utilized, including its milk, wool (the raw material for felt), skin (which can be used as leather), flesh for consumption, tendons (used in sewing), and bones (used in divination and to make dice for games). The cattle were generally of small stature and were kept in large numbers in the northern, less arid areas. The cow is used especially for its milk and meat, but also as a beast of burden to pull the carts of the nomads. The two-humped camel is typical of dry areas. It was used primarily in caravans as a riding and pack animal, but its wool and milk were also used.

The smallest economic unit of the typical nomadic society was the extended family, which was generally organized in the *ayil*, which consisted of 5–8 yurts. The basic needs of subsistence for such a unit were 100 sheep, 20–30 horses, 20–30 cattle, and some camels.<sup>534</sup> Ecological barriers could only be overcome through division of labor. The separation of the species was possible for the Khans, local rulers, and those having several wives. The quality of the pasture determined the number of relocations or nomadizations, a figure that has fluctuated annually between four and sixteen. Nomadic migration routes were tightly regulated. The nomads chose protected river valleys, the southern slopes of mountainsides, and semidesert regions like the Gobi, all places where the grass dries up quickly but retains its nutritional value, for winter quarters. The summer quarters were in high-altitude valleys and in pastures in the northern territories of the steppe. The use of grazing grounds was also strictly regulated by the clan and tribe. Milk and milk products were of crucial importance in the diet of the nomads and were traditionally referred to as white food. They were kept rigorously separate from blood and meat, and it was prohibited to use the same vessel to prepare meat and dairy products.

## 2 Horse-Riding—Travel

Each member of a nomadic society learned to ride at the age of five or six, for a man without a horse was lost in the endless steppe. The basic needs of riding were saddles, bridles and stirrups.<sup>535</sup> We have already quoted Rubruk's description of the chests for the transportation of assets. Nomadic carts and

534 Khazanov cited other data (1984, 30). The quality of the pastures was ranked according to the system of "standard animals": A standard animal corresponds to a horse or cow or to seven sheep or ten goats; a camel is half a standard animal. The best grazing-grounds could support twelve standard animals within one square kilometer (Róna-Tas 1999, 360–362).

535 Kóhalmi 1997, 135–144. The Avar stirrups were taken over first by the Byzantine army, and through their mediation reached the Latin West. The stirrup was an important condition for the development of chivalric warfare (Szádeczky-Kardoss 1983, 317–326).

wagons with large, spoked wheels pulled by oxen could serve as transportation for those unable to ride, infants, and the elderly.

### 3 Dwellings

To enable regular migrations, nomadic communities needed a mobile dwelling that could be assembled and disassembled quickly. In ancient times, women and children lived on wagons, while timber houses served as winter quarters. Later, the yurt was the typical dwelling of Inner Asian nomads. Originally the forest dwellers lived in dome-shaped huts. The yurt therefore must have been a common product of the forest dwellers and the nomads. The lattice structure of the wall connects to the door frame to form a cylindrical-shaped structure on top of which a dome is set up and in the very top of which is a smoke hole with an ornate wooden frame. This framework was covered with felt and forms a relatively large circular space to protect the nomadic family from cold winds and strong sunlight. The floor of the yurt was covered with wool and felt carpets.

### 4 Clothing

Dress was adapted to the nomadic way of life. Its main elements were the following: 1. Pants are a typical nomadic invention suitable for riding and warm; 2. A hip- or knee-length coat in the form of a caftan, lined with fur against the cold. 3. Nomadic footwear was a boot made of felt inside and leather outside, with a low heel. 4. The nomadic cap could be coniform or of another shape, and it was usually supplemented with flaps to protect the ears and neck.

### 5 Weapons

Since animal robbery was very common on the steppe, nomads were constantly armed. Horse theft was a test of courage in the eyes of the nomads and was a favorite subject of nomadic epics. *The Secret History of the Mongols* contains the life of the world conqueror Genghis Khan, who as Temüjin began his famous career after the adventure of a successful horse theft.<sup>536</sup> The most effective weapon of the nomads was the composite reflex bow that was stored in a quiver. It was originally attached to the left side of the belt, but later the bow was kept on left side of the archer and the quiver was carried on the right. A nomad could accurately hit a target with a bow in full gallop shooting forwards, backwards, or sideways.<sup>537</sup>

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<sup>536</sup> Rachewiltz 2006, 26–28; Haenisch 1948, 16.

<sup>537</sup> The reflex bow was the most important of the arms of the Magyars, with which one could



The lasso was also a favored weapon in combat. Nomads avoided hand-to-hand fighting, but if it were inevitable, they used lances, sabers or swords, and whips. Nomadic tactics preferred combat based on long-range weapons to avoid the high casualties of hand-to-hand combat. They also carried out surprise attacks, taking advantage of the unfavorable weather conditions,<sup>538</sup> and the pretend escape was one of their most popular tactics. The nomads were regarded as mostly forming light cavalry, but the Türks, the Avars and the Mongols possessed armored heavy cavalry, attested by both archaeological and written sources. The art of war was practiced in military exercises that took the form of royal hunts in autumn and winter. The midsummer ritual ceremony provided opportunities for the display of individual skills in a triathlon that included wrestling, archery and horse racing.

## 6 Spiritual Culture

The spiritual culture of the nomads was divided into three levels. The macrocosm of the tripartite division is the infinite horizon bounded by the brown earth and the blue sky, and it was ruled by *Umay*, the goddess of fertility, and *Tengri*, the god of the eternal blue sky. The middle level was represented by the “spirit” of the highest mountain protecting the pastureland and the hunting grounds of the clan or tribe, and this was the residence of the ancestors to whom horses were sacrificed. Totemism was dominant in the ancestor cult. The most frequently mentioned totem animals of the nomadic clans were the wolf, deer, and bird of prey. The microcosm embodied the yurt, which was protected by the spirit of the hearth in the middle, to which sheep were sacrificed. The spiritual life of the nomads was led by the shaman, the keeper of traditions and myths. Shamanism probably spread from the forest areas into the steppe.

The Inner Asian nomads were in close contact with their neighbors. The mobility that resulted in the nomadic way of life facilitated relationships with

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shoot an arrow 450 meters. If 1500 horsemen shot twelve arrows per minute, then 18,000 arrows would fall on the enemy (see the description of al-Mas‘ūdī: Pellat 1962, I, 178–179; МЕН, 102–103; Rotter 1978, 105). This weapon made nomadic warfare superior to that of the Europeans, since it could cause serious losses from afar, whereas European warfare was based on hand-to-hand combat. The stabbing and cutting weapons of the nomads were the lance and saber mentioned in the sources. The latter was important in close combat because it could take advantage of the joint energy of the horse and rider when the rider smote with it while standing in the saddle (Bálint 1989, 213–217; Kovács 1994, 181–194; Kellner 1997, 128).

538 Weather-magic cf. Molnár 1994.

other cultures and civilization. The title of Khazanov's monograph *Nomads and the outside world* suggests the importance of external contacts. The focus of recent research is concentrated on the commercial, political and cultural ties with agricultural civilizations (China, Persia, Byzantium) south of the steppe zone. The achievements of those civilizations naturally affected the formation of the nomadic empires in technical, organizational and cultural fields and the fates of nomadic and agricultural empires were linked each other in many respects. Without questioning the significance of contacts with sedentary cultures to the south, the contacts of the steppe nomads with the peoples of the forest zone and their far-reaching consequences have been studied recently.<sup>539</sup>

After outlining the main features of Eurasian nomadism, parallel data from contemporary Muslim authors shall be taken into consideration to interpret the phrases used of the Magyars.

Tamīm ibn Baḥr mentioned the characteristics of the nomadic way of life in connection with his journey from Taraz to the king of the Kimāks: "These deserts, steppes, and plains are vast and abound in grass (*kalā'*) and wells, and in them are the pastures of the Kimāks. He says that he travelled that way and found the king and his army in tents (*khayma*), and in his neighbourhood were villages and cultivated tracts. The king travels from one place to another following the grass (*yattabi'u-l-kalā'*)."<sup>540</sup> The last sentence of the account is almost identical word-for-word as the relevant part of the Magyar chapter in the works of al-Marwazī and Ibn Rusta. Ibn Faḍlān described the Oguz, as quoted above, as Bedouins having felt-tents that they regularly pitch and dismantle, and wandering from one place to another.<sup>541</sup>

The data of nomadic lifestyle in the Jayhānī tradition have been collected here. Gardīzī recorded of the lifestyle of the Tokuzoguz: "The common folk are all steppe[-dwellers] (*ṣaḥrā'*) and have pitched or frame tents."<sup>542</sup> There are several descriptions of the nomadic way of life in *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*. The chapter on the Tokuzoguz, i.e. the Uygur, includes the following passage: "In summer and winter they wander from place to place along the grazing grounds in the climates which (happen to be) the best (*hamī gardand bar giyā-khwārḥā wa*

539 The importance of the relationship between the nomads and the forest dwellers was also highlighted by Katalin Kóhalmi in her study quoted above. In addition, I have called attention to its importance in two studies (Zimonyi 1995, 65–76; 2002, 90–100).

540 Minorsky 1948, 281, 284.

541 Frye 2005, 33; Togan 1939, a 10, 19; Kovalevskiy 1956, 125, 181, notes 169–170, 339; Canard 1958, 37; Lewicki 1985, 34, 92, 138, note 134; see Andrews 1999, 187–188.

542 Ḥabībī 1963, 267; Martínez 1982, 135; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 145.

*hawāhāi kī khushtar buwad*).<sup>543</sup> There is a parallel passage on the Khalaj Turks, who lived on the borders of Ghazni: “They wander along climates (*gardanda bar hawā*), grazing grounds and pasture-lands (*marāṭ*).”<sup>544</sup> Minorsky added a glossary to the second edition to explain the abstruse words and phrases, among which is the phrase: *gardanda bar hawā* “(nomads) wandering in accordance with the seasons.”<sup>545</sup> This expression combines nomadic migration with seasonal climate changes. There is a further detail on nomadism in the chapter on the Kirgiz: “Their wealth consists of Kkirkhīz merchandise, sheep, cows, and horses. They wander along rivers, grass, (good) climate, and meadows (*mīgardand bar āb wa giyā wa hawā wa marghazār*).”<sup>546</sup> As for the nomadic people the Tukhs it is stated: “Their wealth is in horses, sheep, furs, tents, and felt-huts. In winter and summer they wander along pasture-lands, grazing-grounds, and meadows (*gardanda and ... bar charā-gāh wa giyā-khwār wa marghazārḥā*).”<sup>547</sup> The habits of the Kimāk were recorded by the Persian anonymous: “Its people live in felt-huts (*khargāh*) and both in summer and winter wander along the grazing-grounds, waters, and meadows (*gardanda and bar giyā-khwār wa āb wa marghazār*). Their commodities are sable-martens and sheep. Their food in summer is milk, and in winter preserved meat (*gūsh-t-i qadīd*).”<sup>548</sup>

The parallel of these passages can be found in Gardīzī and al-Marwazī: “... a people without villages or houses, who possess forests, woods, water, and herbage; they have cattle and sheep in plenty, but no camels, for camels will not live in their country more than a year. They also have no salt, except what may be imported by merchants, who for a mound of it obtain a fox and a sable skin. In the summer they live on the milk of mares, in winter on jerked meat. Snow is plentiful there, and even falls to a depth of a spear-shaft. When the snow falls as heavily as that, the Kimāk transfer their beasts to the Oguz country, if there is peace between them.”<sup>549</sup> The Oguz were characterised by similar features in *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam*: “Both in summer and winter they wander along the pasture-lands and grazing-grounds (*gardanda and bar charā-gāh wa giyā-khwār*). Their wealth is in horses, cows, sheep, arms, and game in small quantities.”<sup>550</sup> Al-

543 Sotoodeh 1962, 76; Minorsky 1937, 94; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 191.

544 Minorsky 1937, 111.

545 Minorsky 1970, lxiii.

546 Sotoodeh 1962, 80; Minorsky 1937, 96; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 196.

547 Sotoodeh 1962, 84; Minorsky 1937, 99; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 196.

548 Sotoodeh 1962, 85; Minorsky 1937, 99–100; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 203.

549 Minorsky 1942, a 19–20, 32; Martínez 1982, 122–123; cf. Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 112–113, 249.

550 Sotoodeh 1962, 86; Minorsky 1937, 100; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 206.

Marwazī described two kinds of way of life, i.e. the settled and nomadic, at the beginning of the chapter on the Turks and also in the account of the Oguz: “Some of them [Turks] dwell in towns and villages, and some of them in wastes and deserts (*al-barāri al-mafāwiz*) ... Some of them [Oguz] live in towns, some of them live in wastes and deserts, having tents and yurtas; their wastes march with Transoxania ...”<sup>551</sup> The Khazarian Pechenegs living north of the Black Sea in the 10th century were depicted as typical nomads in *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam*: “They own felt-huts and tents, cattle, and sheep (*chahār-pāy wa gūspand*). They wander within the same territory on the grazing grounds (*gardanda and ... bar giyā-khwārḥā*) situated in the Khazar mountains.”<sup>552</sup> Ibrāhīm ibn Waṣīf recorded the following on the lifestyle of the Turks: “Some of them live on mountain peaks and prairies (*fi ru’ūsi-l-jibāl wa-l-barāri*) in felt tents.”<sup>553</sup> Al-Bakrī and al-Marwazī preserved the same text about the Pechenegs who lived east of the Volga in the 9th century: “The Pechenegs are a wandering people (*qawm sayyāra*) following the rainfalls and pasturage (*yattabi’ūna mawāqī’a-l-qaṭr wa-l-kalā’*).”<sup>554</sup>

Although this is analogous to the characterization of Magyars, while the beginning coincides literally with the sentence of al-Bakrī, the word for ‘grass’ is the same in the account of the Magyars by Ibn Rusta and al-Marwazī. Of the way of life of the Pechenegs who invaded the habitat of the Magyars at the end of the 9th century, Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus remarked: “For they (Russians) buy of them (Pechenegs) horned cattle and horses and sheep, whereby they live more easily and comfortably, since none of the aforesaid animals is found in Russia.”<sup>555</sup>

Muslim authors considered the Uygurs (Tokuzoguz), the Kirgiz, the Kimāk, the Oguz, and the Pechenegs, i.e. the most influential Turkic-speaking peoples of the steppe, typical nomads. Since the Magyars were ranked among the Turkic-speaking peoples, it must have been a topos that they were yurt-dwelling nomads.

To evaluate the record of the nomadic way of life of the Magyars, the relevant accounts of the Jayhānī tradition and its contemporaries of the peoples of Eastern Europe are worth taking into consideration. Ibn Rusta wrote about the Khazars: “The population remains during the winter in these two cities.

551 Minorsky 1942, a 17–18, 29; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 241–242.

552 Sotoodeh 1962, 191; Minorsky 1937, 160; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 215.

553 Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 237–238; Kmoskó 1/2, 227.

554 Al-Marwazī: Minorsky 1942, a 20, 32; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 250. Al-Bakrī: Leeuwen, Ferre 1992, 445; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 221.

555 DAI, 51; Belke, Soustal 1995, 72.

When spring days come, they go out to the steppes and continue there till the approach of winter.”<sup>556</sup> The parallel report remains in the book of al-Iṣṭakhri: “The city has no villages. But their farms are extensive. They go out in summer for about twenty leagues through fields to sow. They collect some of the crop on the river and some in the steppe,<sup>557</sup> and bring in their produce either on carts or by the river. Their chief food is rice and fish. The honey and wax brought from their country are brought to them from the territory of al-Rūs and Bulghār. Similarly, the beaver-skins which are taken to all parts of the world are found only in those rivers in the territory of Bulghār, al-Rūs and Kūyāba,<sup>558</sup> and not anywhere else so far as I know.”<sup>559</sup>

Almost the same description is to be read in the letter of the Khazar king Joseph. He lived in the city during the winter; from the month of Nisan they leave the city and go to their fields and vineyards. He and his retinue wander 20 parasangs until they reach the great river, called the Warsan. Then they keep on wandering until the border of the realm. At the end of the month of Kisliw (October–November) in the days of the feast of Dedication they return to the city.<sup>560</sup> The migration and the permanent stay in the town in winter indicated a typical semi-nomadic way of life; however, the Khazar population left the town not to graze livestock but to till the soil, which reflects a kind of mobile agrarian economy. Ludwig studied the economic life of the Khazars on the basis of written sources. He has pointed out that the image of a pure nomadic economy is outdated. Just as the farmer keeps animals, so the nomad deals with agriculture. Ludwig collected the data in the sources about the species they kept: horses, sheep, donkeys or mules, camels, cattle, and pigs. As for agriculture, it may be assumed that there were different vegetation zones and soil types in the Khazar Khaganate. In addition to the arable lands on the

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556 Dunlop 1954, 105; BGA VII, 139–140; Kmoskó 1/1, 204; МЕН, 90; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 53–54. Gardīzī’s parallel text: “In the winter the abode of these [people] is in these two cities, and when the spring comes they go out to the steppes, not going back into the town[s] until [the next] winter.” This is identical with the text of al-Marwazī (Minorsky 1942, a 21, 33; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 251). In addition, Gardīzī later mentioned: “There are many tilled fields and orchards in the Khazar country, and there is an abundance of [natural] wealth.” (Ḥabībī 1963, 272; Martínez 1982, 153, 155; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 167–168.)

557 Yāqūt: “They bring it on carts, and when it is ripe, they collect it.”

558 C und Yāqūt: *Kūtāba* (Wüstenfeld IV, 318), *Kūyāba* (III, 434); Abū l-Fidā’: *Kūtāba*.

559 Dunlop 1954, 93; BGA I, 221; Kmoskó 1/2, 28–29; see BGA II<sup>2</sup>, 392; Kramers, Wiet 1964, 382; Kmoskó 1/2, 76–77.

560 Kohn 1881, 41–42; see Spitzer, Komoróczy 2003, 102; Marquart 1903, 19; Dunlop 1954, 146, note 89.

northern slopes of the Caucasus, brown and black soil can be found in the forest steppe regions of the Volga and the Don, which are particularly suitable for agriculture. Ludwig also collected the information in the sources about the agriculture of the Khazars.<sup>561</sup>

Pletneva ascertained that several types of nomadism are known among the Khazars, both in her book on the Khazars and in her work on the Eastern European steppe, which appeared as a volume of *Archaeology of the USSR* dealing with the archaeological monuments of Saltovo-Mayak culture. The nomadic communities started farming in the relatively permanent winter quarters. Then as a further step, one portion of the population started wandering in spring, while the other remained in winter quarters to continued farming. This part of the nomadic population gradually settled down and became peasants. Archaeologists have excavated finds involving viticulture as well as agriculture in the area of the first capital of the Khazars, Balanjar, and the other famous city, Samandar. The Khazars partly wandered as nomads in the steppe and partly tilled fields on the northern slopes of the Caucasus in the 7th–8th centuries.<sup>562</sup> The Khazar economy of rich cities and their environs changed due to the devastation of the Arab-Khazar wars in the first half of the 8th century. The majority of the population moved to the steppes and the forest-steppe of the Volga-Don region, and their archaeological heritage is of the Saltovo-Mayak culture from the middle of the 8th century to the end of the 10th century. The nomads, experienced in tilling in the Caucasus, arrived in a land with high-quality soil in the forest-steppe of the Saltovo-Mayak culture, and they continued developing agriculture, which contributed to changing their way of life toward permanent settlements, an example neighbouring groups could follow. A large part of the population subsequently settled the land and became agriculturists, and they used an asymmetric heavy plow in grain cultivation.<sup>563</sup> According to István Fodor, the agricultural way of life was dominant in the forest-steppe regions of archaeological material of the Saltovo-Mayak culture in the Don-Volga area in the 8th–10th centuries, facilitated by several factors, such as the period of relatively lasting peace granted by the Khazar Khaganate and the spread of the asymmetric heavy plow.<sup>564</sup>

The Burtas lived north of the Khazars in the forest-steppe zone, and judging from the description of the sources, their way of life was highly complex.

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561 Ludwig 1982, 224–239.

562 Pletnjowa 1978, 48.

563 Pletnjowa 1978, 38–62, 75–126; Pletneva 1981, 72; see Bálint 1980, 384; Türk 2011.

564 Fodor, 1992, 106–111.

Ibn Rusta<sup>565</sup> and Gardīzī<sup>566</sup> mentioned camels and oxen as their characteristic species, while al-Bakrī<sup>567</sup> recorded cattle and flocks of sheep and al-Marwazī<sup>568</sup> wrote about pigs and cattle. The latter two authors mentioned sheep and pigs instead of camels. The sheep is connected to a nomadic way of life, whereas the pig is typically not a species of nomads; rather, forest dwellers, e.g. Slavs, breed them. Gardīzī put down that only the rich among the Burtas had horses, while the others fought on foot.<sup>569</sup> Their country is a plain where the *khalanj* tree grows, which is usually identified with the birch.<sup>570</sup> The Burtas lived in the forest steppe, since their main source of living was provided by the abundance of honey and of fur-bearing animals. Besides bee-keeping and the hunting of fur-bearing animals, they also dealt with agriculture. Al-Mas‘ūdī noted of the Burtas that they lived on a river, whose name was identical with their ethnonym: And from this river, he writes, “along it (the river Burṭās) live sedentary (*ḥaḍīra*) Turkish tribes forming part of the Khazar kingdom.”<sup>571</sup> The sources reflect a diverse and many-sided economy in which their livelihood was secured in different ways.

The Volga Bulgars were the western and north-western neighbours of the Burtas. Ibn Rusta recorded of them: “All of their territory is forest[ed], the trees

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565 Ibn Rusta: “They have camels (*jimāl*), oxen and lots of honey, and their wealth consists mostly of weasel [pelts] ... They dwell in the prairie, most of their trees are *Khalanj*, and they have tilled fields. Their wealth consists of honey, weasel pelts and furs” (BGA VII, 141; Kmoskó 1/1, 206; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 56).

566 Gardīzī: “They have abundant camels (*ushtur*) and oxen and an infinite [amount of] honey, and good wax is brought thence. The greater [part of] their wealth consists of weasel [pelts] ... their trees are larch (? *khalanj*). They have tilled fields and their wealth consists of honey. Their pelt [coats] they make out of weasel skin[s]” (Ḥabībī 1963, 273; Martínez 1982, 156; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 169).

567 Al-Bakrī: “Their trees are mostly the *Khalanj*. Their wealth consists largely of honey and weasel pelts. They possess numerous freely grazing cattle and sheep herds and vast tilled fields” (Leeuwen, Ferre in 1992, 448; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 227).

568 Al-Marwazī: “They have swine and oxen as well as abundance of honey; their [chief] property is the fur of weasel ... Their land is flat, their trees are mostly the *khalanj*, and they tilled lands” (Minorsky 1942, a 21, 33–34; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 251).

569 “Their weapons [consist of] two javelins, a battle ax and a bow, but they have no breast-plate[s] or coat[s] of mail. Not everyone among them has a horse, but rather [only] that person who possesses much wealth” (Ḥabībī, 1963, 273; Martínez 1982, 157; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 169).

570 Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 56, note 38.

571 Minorsky 1958, 148; *Murūj* II, 14; II<sup>2</sup>, 215; Rotter 1978, 89; Kmoskó 1/2, 172; Pellat 1962, 163.

[here being] contiguous and they take up residence in them ... They are a people who tilled sown fields, they sow all kinds of grains, such as wheat and barley and millet and others.”<sup>572</sup> Ibn Faḍlān gave a detailed description of the agriculture of the Volga Bulgars: “Most of what they eat is millet and horsemeat, although wheat and barley are plentiful. Everyone who grows something takes it for himself, the king having no claim to it. However, they render to him every year a sable skin from each household. When the king orders a raiding party to make a foray against a country, and booty is taken, he along with them is due a share. It is incumbent on anyone who holds a wedding feast, or invites a guest to a banquet, that the king receive a portion commensurate with the size of the feast, as well as a bowl of honey drink (*sākhraj* of meth) and some bad wheat. It is bad because their soil is black and putrid. They have no places for the storage of their food. Consequently, they dig wells in the ground and put the food in them. After a few days it begins to turn, becomes malodorous, and cannot be made use of. They have neither olive oil, nor sesame oil, nor cooking oil of any kind. They use instead of these oils fish oil, and everything that they use reeks of fish oil. They make a soup from barley, which they feed to both the female and male slaves. Sometimes they cook the barley with meat. The masters eat the meat while the barley is fed to the slave girls, unless it be the head of a goat, in which case the slave girls are fed meat.”<sup>573</sup> Accordingly, the sedentary lifestyle dominated the economy of the Volga Bulgars. The *Russian Primary Chronicle* corroborates this, reporting in 1024 that the starving people of the Principality of Suzdal “went along the Volga to the Bulgars from whom they brought grain and thus sustained themselves.”<sup>574</sup> The river valleys, the appropriate climate and the black soil favored agriculture, which flourished as demonstrated by the archaeological monuments.<sup>575</sup>

Ibn Rusta wrote about the life of the Slavs: “[They] have neither vines nor sown fields. They have devices made of wood similar to wine jars, the hives for their bees and their honey are called in their language *Ulīshj*. About 10 jugs of

572 BGA VII, 141; Kmoskó 1/1, 206; MEH 91; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 58, 60. Gardīzī’s parallel text contains additions: “All of their territory is forest[ed], the trees [here being] contiguous. Within this environment they keep migrating *from place to place* ... They have tilled, sown fields. Everything they sow is grains, such as wheat, barley, *leeks*, *lentils*, *pulse*, and everything else besides.” (Ḥabībī 1963, 274; Martínez 1982, 157, 158; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 170.) For the text see Zimonyi 1990, 131–132, 136–137.

573 Frye 2005, 54; Togan 1939, a 27–28, 60–63; Kovalevskiy 1956, 136, 325; Canard 1958, 62; Lewicki 1985, 56–57, 104.

574 Cross, Sherbowitz-Wetzor 1953, 135.

575 Smirnov 1981, 211, 254; Huzin 1997, 71–75; Halikov 2006, 236–240.



honey are obtained per hive. They graze swine like sheep ... The greater part of their crops is millet.”<sup>576</sup> The Muslim author emphasized the significance of beekeeping in the economy of the Slavs, which was also mentioned in connection with the Burtas and the Volga Bulgars. Swine constituted an important part of the meat consumption of the Slavs. Surprisingly, millet is mentioned to indicate that the agricultural production of the Slavic population living in the woods was not on the same level as the agriculture of the inhabitants of the forest-steppe zone. Goehrke divided the agricultural implements of the East Slavic speaking peoples into three basic types on the basis of archaeological finds: 1. a symmetrical iron plow used for slashing the ground since the early Iron Age; 2. a two-peaked, lightweight plow provided with a fork-shaped wedge; 3. a heavy plow which turned the soil. The first was widespread among the Slavs, while the second type appeared in the 9th century and was widespread in the area of Lake Ilmen and in the upper Volga region in the 10th–11th centuries. The earliest data on the use of the heavy plow among the Slavs can be dated to the 11th–12th centuries. The first type of plow was suitable for tilling black and brown soil, while the second type was in use in the zone of mixed forest. According to Goehrke, the spring cereals, including mostly millet, wheat and barley in small quantities, were grown in the forest-steppe zone and the deciduous forest in the 6th–7th centuries. Winter rye appeared in the mixed-forest area only in the 9th century, after the afore-mentioned crops. Archaeological findings show the following ratio for

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576 BGA VII, 143–144; Wiet 1955, 161; Kmoskó 1/1, 209, 210; MEH 92; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 76, 77. Parallel Texts:

1. Gardīzī: “They have no vines or sown fields. They have rude huts constructed of wood. Also there is much honey. [For] it may be that they take out fifty, sixty or even one hundred manns of honey from one beehive. They graze swine for they have herds of swine like <other> nations have [herds of] sheep ... the greater part of their sown crops is [in] millet.” (Ḥabībī 1963, 276; Martínez 1982, 163, 164; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 178, 179).

2. *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam*: “This is a vast country with extremely numerous trees growing close together. The people live among the trees and sow nothing except millet. They have no grapes but possess plenty of honey from which they prepare wine and the like. Their vessels (casks) for wine are made of wood, and there are people who annually prepare a hundred of such vessels of wine. They possess herds of swine which are just like herds of sheep” (Sotoodeh 1962, 187; Minorsky 1937, 158; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 211).

3. al-Marwazī: “along steppes and pathless country with thick trees and [abounding] in springs. They inhabit these forests. They have no vines, but possess much honey. They tend swine, and burn their dead, for they worship Fire. They grow mostly millet, and have a drink prepared from honey.” (Minorsky 1942, a 22, 35; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 252)

meat consumption: beef, between 33 and 40%; pork, between 25 and 40%; sheep or goats, between 8 and 25%; horse, between 10 and 25%.<sup>577</sup> The concordance between the archaeological data and the details of the Muslim authors cannot be doubted, even if the interpretation of sources is somewhat indefinite.

The ethnonym *Rūs*, a group called Vikings in the West, denoted a Scandinavian people who created a political centre in the Ladoga area. Ibn Rusta reported of their way of life: "They do not have sown fields, but they live by looting the land of the *Ṣaqālība*. If a child is born, the father comes with a naked sword to the child, throws it in front of the child, and tells him: 'I cannot leave you with any money, you can possess what you earn with this sword'. They do not have villages and sown fields, but they make their living from trading in sable, squirrel and other furs. They sell them and receive silent pelf (money), which they bind in their belt."<sup>578</sup> Gardizī added, "Their king takes [a] ten percent [custom tax] from merchants. [Bands of] a hundred or two hundred [merchants] are always going from them to the Slavs [country]. [These] take all [the provisions they] require [for the journey] from them by force for as long as they are there. And from the Slavs many people go there [willingly] and work as bond [servants] for the Rus that they might [thereafter] be free of [further obligation of] service."<sup>579</sup> This description refers to a typical Scandinavian robber-merchant group fighting on ships that built military and trade settlements in commercial hubs. Their occupation was trade and war, the former with the neighboring powers, i.e. Byzantium, the Volga Bulgars and the Khazars, while they demanded food tribute from the population of the for-

577 Goehrke 1992, 110–113.

578 BGA VII 145; Wiet 1955, 163; Kmoskó 1/1, 212; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 82–83; cf. parallel texts: 1 Gardizī: "They [themselves] have no sowing or tillage, their crops being what they plunder from the Slavs. When a son comes to them, they place an unsheathed sword in front of him, and the father says, 'I have neither gold nor silver nor [other] wealth, that I might leave [behind] as an inheritance for your sake. [By means of this] do your own acquiring and yourself enjoy [what you acquire].' Their commerce [consist of] sable, grey squirrel and other furs." (Ḥabībī 1963, 277; Martínez 1982, 167; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 180). al-Bakrī: "The *Rūs* have no tilled fields and live by their swords." (Leeuwen, Ferre 1992, 491; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 234). 3 al-Marwazī: "They are very numerous, and look to the sword to provide them with a livelihood and profession." (Minorsky 1942, a 23, 36; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 253)

579 Ḥabībī 1963, 277; Martínez 1982, 169; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 181. Parallel text in *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*: "They annually pay the tithe on their booty and commercial profits to the government. Among them lives a group of Slavs who serve them." (Sotoodeh 1962, 189; Minorsky 1937, 159; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 212).

est zone, including Finno-Ugric, Baltic and Slavic-speaking communities, and they obtained the main products of long-distance trade, furs and slaves, from there.<sup>580</sup>

The peoples of Eastern Europe living along the Lower Volga had a complex economy. The Khazars dwelled in the steppe but they represented a typical semi-settled way of life, whereas agriculture clearly dominated among the Burtas and Volga Bulgars who lived north of the Khazars. As for the peoples along the Dnieper, the Magyars were characterized as nomads, but their sown fields were also mentioned in the Jayhānī tradition. The Slavic-speaking groups to their north grew millet, and swine breeding and beekeeping were their main living. The cultivation of plants stood among them at a lower level than among the seminomads in the forest steppe. In the northern territory of the Ladoga, the Scandinavian Rūs lived in merchant settlements from which they went out to trade or to loot the people living in the surrounding forest zone, as they did not practice their own means of production.

The question of the Magyar way of life is the subject of a long historiographical discussion. The Magyars were described as typical nomads, but in paragraphs 12–13 the country of the Magyars is characterized as moist and rich in trees, and they are said to have many sown fields. This reflects a complex economy, and the relationship between nomadic and agricultural features can be studied with the help of the history of language, archaeology and ethnology.

Attila Paládi-Kovács dedicated a separate chapter to the early stock-raising of the Magyars in his monograph dealing with the history of the Magyar livestock-breeding culture. He reconstructed a complex agricultural-stock-raising economy using various analogies for 1000–1500 years before the 5th century, after which the Magyars wandered to the steppe zone, whereupon the livestock sector became dominant in the economy. Accepting Csanád Bálint's theory, he emphasized on the basis of the stratum of Turkic loanwords in Hungarian that their economic structure coincided with that reflected in the archaeological findings of the Saltovo-Mayak culture. The proportion of cattle is 30–40%, sheep and goat 25%, and swine 10–20%. He also noted that the number of Turkic loanwords referring to cattle-breeding is high, but the numerous borrowings of terminology for sheep and goat, swine-breeding, and dairy products is a sign of the transformation of livestock-breeding. The dominant species were horses and cattle, but swine—even though the swine is not characteristic of a nomadic economy—played a role. Swine were fed on waste and swill in winter

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580 Goehrke 1992, 159–161.

quarters and were kept in the swamps or the forest-steppe between the Don, Dnieper and Bug. Paládi-Kovács has listed the vocabulary and the ethnological background of castration and the age designations of the animals, as well as studying the composition and size of flocks, the role of the tamgas that served to distinguish the animals, watchdogs and other means to guard the flocks: lasso, loop, fetters, cowbell, whip; riding equipments: stirrup, bridle and saddle; and finally the processing and storage of meat and dairy products and leather finishing.<sup>581</sup>

Kristó has collected the data from sources relating to the way of life of the conquering Magyars. He reviewed theories current in recent research, including the three basic variants of nomadic, semi-nomadic, and mixed agriculture and stock-breeding economies.<sup>582</sup> Kristó quoted the data of Ibn Rusta and Leo the Wise and the *Russian Primary Chronicle*, which attest the regular relocation of habitat following pasturage. He questioned Szabó's view of agriculture practiced in permanent winter quarters on the basis of the report of Ibn Rusta, i.e. they have sown fields. Kristó emphasized that the Magyars indeed cultivated land, but agriculture played a minor and only complementary role, since according to the Jayhānī tradition they imposed a food tribute on the Slavs. Kristó gathered another five references about the nomadic lifestyle of the Hungarians and noted that the sources described the Magyars as nomads who wandered and followed the pastures, and among whom agriculture was only secondary.<sup>583</sup> As for the food tribute levied on the Slavs in the Jayhānī tradition, the translation of the Arabic word is ambiguous: it means either corvee or billet, which tells against Kristó's argument.

Róna-Tas put the question of whether the conquering Magyars were nomads or semi-nomads on the basis of the data of the sources and the analogies of Turkic- and Mongolian-speaking nomads. He reconstructed two types of economies, reflected inter alia in the composition of livestock. The nomadic type had a higher rate of horses. The nomadic Mongols exemplified this economic system, but even these groups had agriculture. In spring, grain was sown in the winter quarters before they started their migration cycle, and they returned to the same place in autumn for the harvest. Their wooden plow was so light that it could be put on the carts carrying the wooden parts of the yurts. The other type was a mixed agriculture-livestock-keeping economy in which swine had much more significance, but as swine could not be taken

581 Paládi-Kovács 1993, 34–66.

582 Kristó 1996, 7–23.

583 Kristó 1996, 52–64.

on the nomadic wandering tour, probably only those groups could keep swine who stayed in permanent settlements and cultivated land. Róna-Tas emphasized that several transitional forms existed between the nomadic and the agriculture-livestock-keeping lifestyles and that the Magyars may have had a highly stratified society that included nomads, seminomads, and even a settled population.<sup>584</sup>

István Fodor dealt with the economy of the early Magyars in several studies, especially from the perspective of archaeology. According to him, several peoples cultivated land in the Khazar Khaganate. The Alans' agriculture, horticulture and intensive livestock-breeding were at a high level in the northern Caucasus and some of their groups moved to the forest-steppe region of the Don and the Donets, bringing their highly developed economy with them. The peoples residing in these territories adapted the new techniques and agriculture gradually came to dominate even among the Turkic-speaking groups. In the 8th–9th centuries, agriculture spread south into the steppe zone from the forest steppe due to the long period of peace granted by the Khazar Khaganate, and the spread of the heavy plow made it possible to increase yields significantly. Fodor assumed that the Magyars participated in the process of sedentarization, i.e. significant Magyar groups became settled and cultivated land, which means that there was a significant agricultural population among the Magyars who conquered the Carpathian Basin in 895.<sup>585</sup>

As for the way of life of the conquering Magyars, it cannot be described with a single term. The peoples of Eastern Europe had a complex economy in which agriculture played an important role, as reflected in the *Jayhānī* tradition. Besides the data of the sources, the finds of Saltovo-Mayak archaeological culture give much the same testimony. Additionally, the evidence from agricultural vocabulary of Old Turkic loanwords in Hungarian corroborate the existence of a complex economy.

It can be applied before the 8th–9th centuries. The Chinese sources gave a detailed account about the *T'ieh-lê* people from the beginning of the 7th century. The figures for the strengths of the armies of their tribal confederation have been quoted above already. Even though they each had their own ethnonyms, the whole conglomeration is designated by the name *T'ieh-lê*. They had no common ruler, and a part of them obeyed the Eastern Türk Khagan, whereas the other part submitted to the Western Türks. They have no permanent quarters, and they migrate following water and pasture. They are fierce

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584 Róna-Tas 1996, 122–123, 282–285; 1999, 143–145, 360–364.

585 Fodor 1992, 106–111; 2002, 18–26.

and cruel. They are excellent in horse-riding and archery. In general, they are greedy and live by plunder and robbery. Those who live in the western areas cultivated land; they have a lot of cattle and sheep, but few horses.<sup>586</sup> Besides the classic nomadic stereotypes, the last part of the description point to the fact that the T'ieh-lê tribes living in the vicinity of Byzantium already preferred agriculture, compared to those who migrated in the steppes of Central Asia circa 600.

The famous passage from the description of Scythia in the work of Herodotus concerning the general characteristic features of nomadism have already been quoted. However, Herodotus provided a more complex description of the Scythians in paragraphs 17–20 of Book Four:

17. Northward of the port of the Borysthenites,<sup>587</sup> which lies midway in the coastline of all Scythia, the first inhabitants are the Callippidae,<sup>588</sup> who are Scythian Greeks; and beyond them another tribe called Alazones;<sup>589</sup> these and the Callippidae, though in other matters they live like the Scythians, sow and eat corn, and onions, garlic, lentils, and millet. Above the Alazones dwell Scythian tillers of the land,<sup>590</sup> who sow corn not for

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586 Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 128.

587 The ethnonym is a derivation from the name of the river Borysthenes, which can be identified with the Dnieper (Dovatur 1982, note 358). Herodotus listed them among the Scythians in paragraph 18 and identified them with the inhabitants of Olbia. Olbia was on the bank of the river (Dovatur 1982, 235–236, note 211; Herodotus, Commentary, 587).

588 The land of Callippidae can be located west of the Dnieper on the banks of the Southern Bug, and in accordance with the archaeological data agriculture dominated among them besides stock-breeding and fishing. The interpretation as Hellenized Scythians is controversial: it might indicate ethnic fusion or the adoption of Hellenistic culture. The ethnonym may be Greek, meaning 'of the beautiful horses' (Dovatur 1982, 224–226, note 200; Herodotus, Commentary, 587).

589 The habitat of the Alazones or Alizones could have been in Podolia, where the distance between the Southern Bug and the Dnieper is least (Dovatur 1982, 226–227, note 201; Herodotus, Commentary, 588).

590 There is no difference in meaning between *Σκύθαι ἀροτῆρες* and *Σκύθαι γεωργοί* in paragraph 18, both meaning 'Scythian farmers.' The tribes of Scythian farmers were located on the Dniester and Dnieper. The two terms may have expressed a difference in lifestyle, i.e. one of them was sedentary, the others semi-nomadic. The group of *Σκύθαι ἀροτῆρες* is generally located in the forest-steppe region between the Dnieper and the Southern Bug with highly developed agriculture, according to archaeological excavations (Dovatur 1982, 228–230, note 206; Herodotus, Commentary, 589–592).

eating but for selling; north of these, the Neuri,<sup>591</sup> to the north of the Neuri the land is uninhabited so far as we know.

18. These are the tribes by the river Hypanis,<sup>592</sup> westwards of the Borysthenes. But on the other side of the Borysthenes the tribe nearest to the sea is the tribe of the Woodlands;<sup>593</sup> and north of these dwell Scythian farmers,<sup>594</sup> whom the Greek dwellers on the Hypanis River (who call themselves Olbiopolitae) call Borystheneitae. These farming Scythians inhabit a land stretching eastward a three days' journey to a river called Panticapes,<sup>595</sup> and northward as far as an eleven days' voyage up the Borysthenes; and north of these the land is uninhabited for a long way; after which desert is the country of the Man-eaters,<sup>596</sup> who are a nation by themselves and by no means Scythian and beyond them is true desert, wherein no nation of men dwells, as far as we know.

19. But to the east of these farming Scythians, cross the river Panticapes, and you are in the land of nomad Scythians,<sup>597</sup> who sow nothing, nor

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- 591 The Neuri may have lived in the forest-steppe region between the source of the Dniester and middle Dnieper or north of it in the border area between the forest-steppe and the forest zone. They are considered as the ancestors of the Slavs or Finno-Ugric, Celtic and Baltic speaking tribes (Dovatur 1982, 231, 232, note 208; Herodotus, Commentary, 589).
- 592 It can be identified with the Southern Bug (Dovatur 1982, 278–279, note 350).
- 593 Hylaia 'forested (area)' is an area covered with forest at the mouth of the Dnieper. The region east of the Dnieper is generally meant, but even so the western shore cannot be excluded. The area might have extended from east of the Kinburn spit to Novaya Kahovka, located on the eastern bank of the Dnieper, to Kalanchak which flows into the bay Karkina, or to Molochnaya. Earlier the area was densely forested (Dovatur 1982, 232–233, note 209; Herodotus, Commentary, 589).
- 594 The Σκυθαὶ γεωργοὶ lived north of Hylaia on the left bank of the Dnieper. In this case, the area would extend from Berislav to Zaporozhye. Others argue that one must also keep the right bank of the Dnieper in consideration, an area bordered by the Ingulets and the Dnieper. The northern border of the Scythian farmers was the rivers Psel and Sula (Dovatur 1982, 233–235, note 210; Herodotus, Commentary, 592).
- 595 There are two possible identifications of the river: 1. the left tributary of the Dnieper, the Konka; 2. the Ingulets (Dovatur 1982, 285–287, note 370).
- 596 The habitat of the people Androphagos 'man-eaters' is found east of Neuri. The rivers on its southern border could be the Vorskla, the Psel and the Sula, while the northern limit may have been Kiev, the river Pripjat, Chernigov, or Vitebsk. They were described as Slavic, Finno-Ugric and Samoyedic-speaking groups (Dovatur 1982, 237–238, note 214; Herodotus, Commentary, 592).
- 597 There have been several attempts to determine the area of the nomadic Scythians. They are usually placed between the left tributaries of the lower reaches of the Dnieper (Konka, Samara, Vorskla) and the Don; the southern limit is the northern coast of the Azov Sea.

plough; and all these lands except the Woodlands are bare of trees. These nomads inhabit to the eastward a country that stretches fourteen days' journey to the river Gerrus.<sup>598</sup>

20. Across the Gerrus are those lands called Royal, where are the best and most in number of the Scythians,<sup>599</sup> who deem all other Scythians their slaves; their territory stretches southward to the Tauric land,<sup>600</sup> and eastward to the fosse that was dug by the sons of the blind men, and on the Maeetian Lake to the port called The Cliffs<sup>601</sup> and part of it stretches to the river Tanais. Above the Royal Scythians to the north dwell the Blackcloaks, who are of another and not a Scythian stock; and beyond the Blackcloaks<sup>602</sup> the land is all marshes and uninhabited by men, so far as we know.<sup>603</sup>

Herodotus described four kinds of Scythians, contrary to the stereotypical image of nomadic Scythians. Apart from these, the royal Scythians represented the dynasty and there were two groups of Scythians who cultivated land. In the 4th century BC the process of sedentarization accelerated and the nomads settled in villages and towns in the Crimea and in the vicinity of the seaside. They had two large centers: Kamenskoe on the Dnieper Elisaventinskaya on the Don. The grain trade assumed such proportions that Scythia became the main

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The steppe in the northern region of Crimea is also regarded as the home of the nomadic Scythians (Dovatur 1982, 238–239, note 215; Herodotus, Commentary, 592–593).

598 Two identification possibilities deserve special attention: the river Konka or Molochnaya (Dovatur 1982, 290–292, note 374).

599 The Royal Scythians lived between Gerrus (Konka, Molochnaya) and the Tanais (Don, Donets), but there are opinions that extended its power to the northern part of the Crimean peninsula. As their way of life might have been identical with that of the nomadic Scythians, it is difficult to distinguish them archaeologically. The name is obviously political and not ethnic in nature (Dovatur 1982, 240–242, note 219; Herodotus, Commentary, 593).

600 This term referred to the mountains in the southern part of the Crimean peninsula ranging from Sevastopol to Feodosiy. It was partly used as a term for the whole peninsula of Crimea (Dovatur 1982, 242, note 221).

601 The location of the harbor Genechinsk, which lay on the western end of the northern coast of the Sea of Azov to near Nogaysk, the center of the coastal district, is uncertain. (Dovatur 1982, 242–243, note 223).

602 This people was located in the area between Pskov and Oka, and is usually associated with Finno-Ugric-speaking peoples (Dovatur 1982, 350–352, 612).

603 Herodotus II, 217, 219, 221; Feix 1988, 517–519; Muraközy 1989, 272–273; Dovatur 1982, 106–107.



exporter of cereals during the Peloponnesian War.<sup>604</sup> The Scythian nomads, farmers and traders worked effectively together, forming a complex society.<sup>605</sup>

In the second half of the 9th century, the Magyars lived in the regions north of the Black Sea and, as did the other Eastern European peoples of the steppe and forest-steppe belt, had a complex, mixed economy. If Herodotus knew of nomadic and farming Scythians, there is no doubt that the Magyars possessed a similar mixed and complex economic system. It is obvious that the nomadic groups played a crucial role from the political and military point of view, which was reflected in the information that outside observers recorded in their sources. However, even these sources described the Magyars as having a mixed economy, which is corroborated by the data of archaeology and language history.

## 7 The Dimensions of the Magyar Lands

Ibn Rusta: Their country is wide.

Gardizī: and (it is) a spacious space. Their country is 100 parasangs by 100 parasangs.

Al-Bakrī: The length of their country is 100 parasangs (long) by 100 (parasangs wide).

Abū'l-Fidā': The length of their country is 100 parasangs (long) by 100 (parasangs wide).

*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*: This country is 150 parasangs in length by 100 parasangs in breadth.

Al-Marwazī: They have wide territories, reaching the distance of 100 parasangs by 100 parasangs.

ʿAwfī: They have wide territories, reaching the distance of 100 parasangs by 100 parasangs.

Shukrallāh: Their country reaches the distance of 100 parasangs by 100 parasangs

Shükrrallāh: Their country has [an extension of] 100 parasangs.

Muḥammad Kātib: The country of this people has [an extension of] 100 parasangs.

Ḥājī Khalīfa: They live in a place of 100 parasangs in width and length,

604 Melyukova 1990, 104–105.

605 Christian 1998, 139–141.

On the basis of the parallel texts, we may conclude that the basic text included the information that the country extended one hundred parasangs in both width and length. Ibn Rusta omitted this information, while the author of the *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam* increased the width from one hundred to one hundred and fifty parasangs.

The parasang is in Arabic *farsakh*, borrowed from Persian. Originally it was the distance that a cavalry squadron would march in one hour, corresponding to a distance of about six kilometers. In Arabic, one farsakh is three miles (*mīl*), a mile is one thousand *bā‘* ‘fathom,’ a fathom is four *dhirā‘* ‘ells,’ and one ell is 49.875 centimeters. Accordingly, a fathom is two meters and a mile is two kilometers, and so a *farsakh* is six kilometers.<sup>606</sup> Kmoskó pointed out that the length of a *farsakh* varied in different regions. According to the information of Ibn Khurdādhbih, the length of a *farsakh* was about 5.5 kilometers in Mesopotamia, while it was approximately 7.8 kilometers in Transoxania.<sup>607</sup> The extent of the Magyar country can be estimated as approximately 600 × 600 kilometers.

In addition, there were other terms for distances in Muslim literature. *Barīd* is borrowed from Latin *veredus* ‘post-horse,’ and its meaning in Arabic is ‘post.’ The geographical literature used it in the sense of ‘route between two post stations.’ In Iran, the post stations (*sikka*) were in principle two *farsakhs* from each other; however, this distance was four *farsakhs* (about twenty-four kilometers) in the Muslim West. The postal organization was well-known in Byzantium and in Sassanid Persia, which seem to have served as models for building the institution elsewhere. ‘Abd al-Malik recognized the importance of this institution, for at the time it was one of the most important offices of state, including in it intelligence-gathering services in the 9th–10th centuries.<sup>608</sup> Tamīm ibn Baḥr described the postal service of the Uygurs in 821: “their (i.e. the Turks’) country is very cold and one can travel in it (only) during six months of the year. He says that he journeyed to the country of the Tokuzoguz khaqan on relay horses (*barīd*) which the khaqan sent him and that he was travelling three stages (*sikak*) in a-day-and-a-night, travelling as hard and as fast as he could. He journeyed twenty days in steppes (*barārī*) where there were springs and grass (*kala’*) but no villages or towns: only the men of the relay service (*aṣḥāb al-sikak*) living in tents. And he was carrying with him twenty days’ provisions. This because he knew the affairs of that country (*madīna*), and that the dis-

606 W. Hinz, *Farsakh*: EI<sup>2</sup> II, 812.

607 Kmoskó 1/1, 98, note 163.

608 D. Sourdel, *Barīd*: EI<sup>2</sup> I, 1045–1046; Silverstein 2007, 93–99.

tance was twenty days along the steppes with (only) wells and grass. And then, after that, he travelled twenty days among villages lying closely together and cultivated tracts (*‘imārāt*).<sup>609</sup> Minorsky commented the distances hinted in the report. The terms *barīd* and *sikka* denote distances between two stations along the route, and may be estimated at two or four *farsakhs*. Two stations in twenty-four hours is a comfortable ride of 30–35 kilometers, if we take the average value of three *farsakhs*, but in fact twice this distance, i.e. twelve *farsakhs* (60–70 kilometers) daily, seems to have been normal.<sup>610</sup> A route of forty days corresponds to 480 *farsakhs*, i.e. 2400–2880 kilometers.<sup>611</sup>

The day’s march is another important possibility for measuring distance. The terms *manzil* and *marḥala* are two basic words in Arabic for distances based on such a measure. The word *manzil* means ‘temporary station, a stop during the trip, a caravan stop at the end of a day’s march.’ The caravanserais or halting posts were generally six to eight *farsakhs* (35–48 kilometers) apart, and the daily distance might reach 60 kilometers in the steppe or desert, with a march of at least eleven hours.<sup>612</sup> The meaning of *marḥala* is ‘a day march’ and might differ depending on geographical conditions: al-Muqaddasī defined the *marḥala* as six or seven *farsakhs* (36–42 kilometers), but he indicated the differences between two stages separately when deviating from the average.<sup>613</sup> The Jayhānī tradition recorded several similar descriptions of distances; in most cases they are defined in terms of daily trips.

The dimensions of the country of the Pechenegs east of the Volga in the 9th century were recorded in the works of al-Bakrī, Gardīzī and al-Marwazī: “Their territory extends a distance of thirty days in either direction.”<sup>614</sup> Gardīzī and al-Bakrī gave further hints to the interpretation of the account describing the route from (Kunya Ürgench) to the Pechenegs. According to al-Bakrī the distance between Jurjāniyya and the edge of the Ust-Urt Plateau is twelve *farsakhs*, corresponding to the distance of two days’ march.<sup>615</sup> Gardīzī then recorded: “As for [the country of] the Pechenegs, the road to it starts out from

609 Minorsky 1948, 278–279, 283.

610 Plano Carpini used the Mongolian postal organization and travelled four thousand kilometers in 67 days, which corresponds to an average of 60 kilometers per day (Gießauf 1995, 79).

611 Minorsky 1948, 293.

612 N. Elisséeff, *Manzil*: EI<sup>2</sup> VI, 455.

613 BGA III, 106; Miquel 1967, 328, note 1.

614 Al-Bakrī: Leeuwen, Ferre 1992, 445; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 221. Gardīzī: Ḥabībī 1963, 271; Martínez 1982, 151; al-Marwazī: Minorsky 1942, a 20, 32.

615 Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 221; Kovalevskiy 1956, 179, note 154.

Gürgençh. [Thence] it goes to the mountain[s] of Khwārazm, and from the[se] mountain[s] it goes on to the Pecheneg [country]. The Lake of Khwārazm appears [along this route as it] skirts along [the South-West] of that lake. Once [the route] passes on from there it arrives at a dry desert land. [This] it [traverses] for nine days, coming to a well every day or every two days. One descends [into these wells] by means of a rope [in order to bring up, and] give water to the beasts. When it is the tenth day [the road] arrives at [various] springs and [then] a river. Here there is game of every variety of fowl and deer [as well as] a small quantity of grass. [It is] a sixteen-day journey through this [fair country] and when it is the seventeenth day one arrives at the tents of the Pechenegs.”<sup>616</sup>

Ibn Faḍlān traveled the same route in 922, starting his journey from Urgench on 4 March 922 and arriving at the court of the ruler of the Volga Bulgars, in the vicinity of the confluence of the Volga and Kama Rivers, on 12 May. His travel lasted seventy days altogether. Ibn Faḍlān mentioned first a ten-day journey into the desert, which was a bitterly cold place, then after another fifteen days' trip he reached the land of the Oguz.<sup>617</sup> Accordingly, Ibn Faḍlān arrived at the land of the Oguz, which may have belonged to the Pechenegs before 895, in 25 days. Gardīzī claimed that the distance was a seventeen-day trip. If we add at least two days' march to this, approximately twelve *farsakhs* between Ürgench and the edge of Ust-Urt Plateau, the difference is about five or six days' journey. In both cases, the camps of the nomads, first of the Pechenegs and then of the Oguz, must have lain on the River Emba. Ibn Faḍlān was able to travel a further thirty days as far as the Ural River or beyond, somewhere between the Ural and Samara Rivers. He met the Pechenegs, the remnants of the tribal confederacy who did not wander toward the west, on the Ural river.<sup>618</sup> From there, there still remained a journey of fifteen days to the confluence of the Volga and the Kama. Kovalevskiy estimated one day's trip of the embassy at thirty kilometers.<sup>619</sup> River crossings obviously slowed down their march, and Ibn Faḍlān mentioned a total of twenty-three rivers in his report.<sup>620</sup> If the locations and distances are transferred to a current map, the trip was about 1600 kilometers, which corresponds to a march of 23 kilometers per day. A given day's journey might have been more, but due to days for rest and crossing rivers, such a figure seems realistic.

616 Ḥabībī 1963, 271; Martinez 1982, 151; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 162–164.

617 Togan 1939, 18–19; Kovalevskiy 1956, 125.

618 Togan 1939, 33; Kovalevskiy 1956, 130.

619 Kovalevskiy 1956, 179, note 153.

620 Kovalevskiy 1956, 96–97, 99.

The Jayhānī tradition includes two further pieces of data on distances in connection with the Pechenegs. The description of the boundaries of the country of the Pechenegs contains a reference to al-Ṣaqālība as their western neighbours. The ethnonym is interpreted formally as Slavs, but a Slavic-speaking population did not live on the lower Volga in the second half of the 9th century. The term may instead denote forest-dwellers without any indication of ethnicity. It seems probable in our present state of knowledge that Finno-Ugric-speaking groups lived in the forest areas on the western bank of the Volga River who can be identified with the Burtas of the Muslim sources. The south-western neighbors of the Pechengs were the Khazars. As for the distances between the Pechenegs and these two peoples, it is stated in the chapter on the Khazars: “Between the Bajānākiyya and the Khazars is a ten-day journey, the country being steppes and forests.”<sup>621</sup> There is another indication of the distances in the chapter on the Slavs: “Between the land of al-Bajānākiyya and the land of al-Ṣaqālība is a distance of ten days.”<sup>622</sup> A ten-day march would correspond to around 300 kilometers. The lower reaches of the Volga under Saratov run more or less parallel with the river Ural below the city of Uralsk, and the distance between them is about 300–350 kilometers. The Pechenegs must have wandered along the rivers Ural and Emba and their territory was bordered to the west by the lower reaches of the Volga and to the south beyond the desert of the River Emba. Their land might have been about 900 × 900 kilometers, which significantly exceeded the size of the Magyar lands.

Al-Jayhānī referred to the distance to the land of the Burtas who lived in the area between the Khazars and the Volga Bulgars. Ibn Rusta, Gardīzī and al-Marwazī stated: “The extent of their land is seventeen days in either direction.”<sup>623</sup> Al-Bakrī: “Their land extends over the distance of a half-month trip in length and breadth.”<sup>624</sup> The original information may have been seventeen

621 Ibn Rusta: BGA VII, 139; Wiet 1955, 158; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 51. Gardīzī: Ḥabībī 1963, 272; Martínez 1982, 152; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 166. Al-Bakrī: Leeuwen, Ferre 1992, 446; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 224. Al-Marwazī: Minorsky 1942, a 21, 33; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 250.

622 Ibn Rusta: BGA VII, 143; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 75. Gardīzī: Ḥabībī 1963, 276; Martínez 1982, 163; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 178. Al-Marwazī: Minorsky 1942, a 22, 35; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 252. Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 163–164. Al-Marwazī: Minorsky 1942, a 20, 32; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 250.

623 Ibn Rusta: BGA VII, 141; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 56. Gardīzī: Ḥabībī 1963, 273; Martínez 1982, 156; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 169. Al-Marwazī: Minorsky 1942, a 22, 34; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 251.

624 This is an emendation, as one and a half months is given in the manuscripts: al-Bakrī: Leeuwen, Ferre 1992, 448; note 5; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 227.

days; al-Bakrī changed the exact number and gave the approximation of a half-month, which was misunderstood by later copyists as one and a half months. In addition, two distances were recorded in connection with the land of the Burtas: “The land of Burdās is between the Khazar [country] and Bulkār and between them and the Khazars is a journey of fifteen days,”<sup>625</sup> and “Between the Bulkāriyya and the Burdās is a journey of three days.”<sup>626</sup> The Balkhī tradition included a list of distances in the description of the Khazar (Caspian) Sea, in which it is stated that the distance from Ätil, the Khazar capital at the mouth of the Volga, to the boundary of the Burtās is that of a twenty-day journey, and from the beginning of the boundary of the Burtās to its end is about a fifteen-day journey.<sup>627</sup> The difference between the details of the two traditions is a five-day journey. The fifteen-day journey between the Khazars and the Burtas and the distance of twenty days between the border of the Burtas and the Ätil can easily be reconciled, as the latter was calculated, not from the border of the Khazars, but directly from the capital. This is corroborated by the letter of the Khazar king Joseph, in which he claimed that his core area extended north of Ätil some thirty *farsakhs*, which is about a six-day journey. Since the exact location of the Khazar capital cannot be determined, the border of the Burtas country may be located approximately in the vicinity of Saratov. The three-day journey, i.e. circa ninety kilometers, between the Volga Bulgars and the Burtas obviously refers to territory south of the knee of the River Volga at Samara. The seventeen or fifteen-day journeys are to be estimated at 510 and 450 kilometers. The realm of the Burtas was definitely smaller than that of the Magyars.

According to a report from the beginning of the 10th century in the works of Ibrāhīm ibn Waṣīf and al-Bakrī, the land of the Danube Bulgars was broad: “The kingdom of Burjān is twenty by thirty days of journey,”<sup>628</sup> which corresponds to a land of 600 by 900 kilometers.

The geographic description of the Khazar Khaganate can be found in the letter of the Khazar ruler Joseph in Hebrew from the 10th century. The author

625 Ibn Rusta: BGA VII, 140; Wiet 1955, 157; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 55. Gardīzī: Ḥabībī 1963, 273; Martínez 1982, 155; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 168. Al-Bakrī: Leeuwen, Ferre 1992, 448; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 227. Al-Marwazī: Minorsky 1942, a 21, 33; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 251.

626 Ibn Rusta: BGA VII, 141; Wiet 1955, 159; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 62. Gardīzī: Ḥabībī 1963, 274; Martínez 1982, 158; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 170. Al-Bakrī: Leeuwen, Ferre 1992, 448–449; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 227.

627 BGA I, 227; Kmoskó 1/2, 32; cf. BGA 11<sup>2</sup>, 398; Kramers, Wiet 1964, 389.

628 Leeuwen, Ferre 1992, 450; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 235, 230; Kmoskó 1/2, 235, 257.

clearly distinguished the land of the Khazars from the realm of the Khagan. In the latter case, all those peoples were enumerated who paid tribute to the Khazar Khagan, and Khazar domination was firm and stable in the 8th–9th centuries; however, the situation changed in the 10th century and Khazar rule was merely a claim over peripheral territories without actual subjugation. The Khazar ruler considered the following peoples on the banks of the Volga as subjects: Burtas, Bulgar, Suwar, Ersä, Cheremis, Vyatic, Severian and Sloven, and the empire extended a journey of four months in this direction. The eastern frontier of the empire was on the east coast of the Caspian Sea. In the south, the border was Samandar and Derbent, then followed the line of the Caucasus as far as the shore of the Black Sea, and the distance was a two-month journey in this direction. To the west, the cities Sarkel, Tamatarha, and Kerch in the Crimea belonged to the realm, and the Pechenegs on the Dnieper and the land of the Magyars formed the boundaries in this direction, lying at the distance of a four month journey.<sup>629</sup> Of the country of the Khazars Joseph wrote: “I let you know that concerning the boundary of the country in which I live, it expands to the east twenty parasangs, as far as the sea of Jorjan; southward thirty parasangs;<sup>630</sup> to west forty parasangs.<sup>631</sup> I live on an island, my sown-fields, my vineyard, my gardens and my plantations are also on the island—and to the north it is thirty parasangs.”<sup>632</sup> According to the short version of Joseph’s letter, the Khazar country was 60 by 60 parasangs, whereas the longer version contains the figure of 50 by 50 parasangs. Artamonov projected the data on a map. There is only one serious challenge: the position of the Khazar capital is uncertain. Artamonov located the town Ätil between Selitrennoye and Yenotayevka or in the vicinity of Astrakhan.<sup>633</sup> The country of the Khazars must have been 300 by 300 or 360 by 360 kilometers, and it extended from the northwestern shore of the Caspian Sea to the Don.

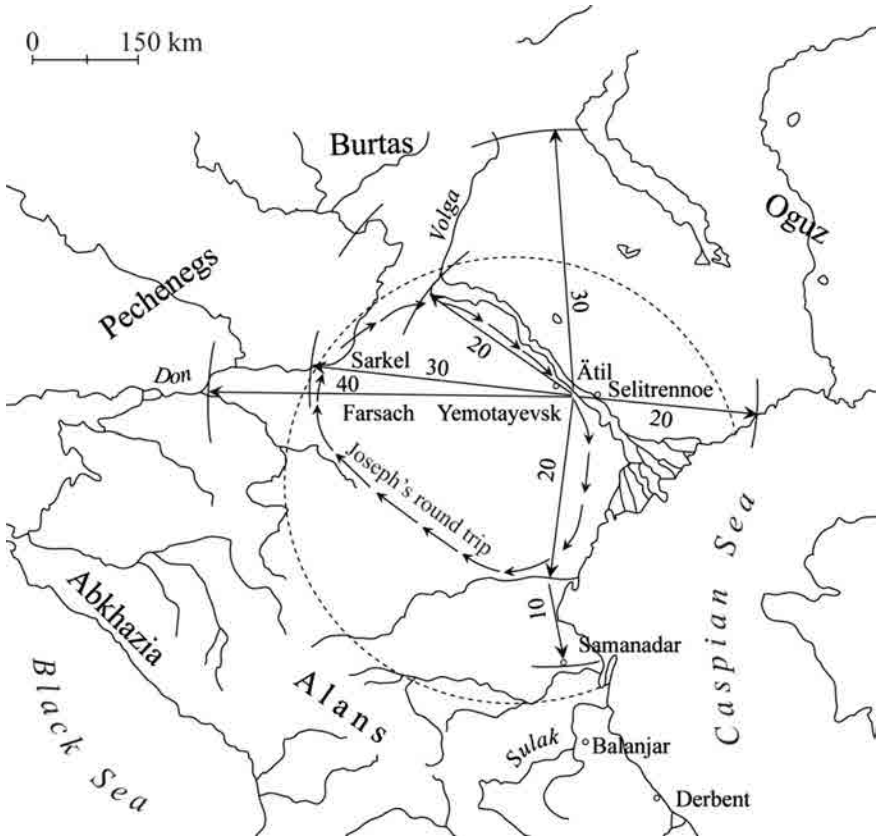
629 Pletnjowa 1978, 155–156; Kohn 1881, 38–40; Kokovcov 1932, 81–83, 98–102; cf. Spitzer, *Komoróczy* 2003, 100–101; Ludwig 1982, 105; Artamonov 2002, 388–389.

630 The longer version of the letter includes the name of the great river: Ugru. Artamonov identified it with the river Terek (2002, 392–393).

631 The longer version: to the west thirty parasangs as far as the river Buzan. The river is identified with the Don (Artamonov 2002, 392).

632 Pletnjowa 1978, 157; Kohn 1881, 42; Kokovcov 1932, 87–103; see Spitzer, *Komoróczy* 2003, 102. The longer version: forty parasangs to Buzan. In contrast, there are twenty parasangs per Kokovcov (1932, 103).

633 Artamonov 2002, 395.

FIGURE 4 *Khazaria in the 10th century*

MAP BY RICHÁRD SZÁNTÓ, ADAPTED FROM M.I. ARTAMANOV, 2002, P. 391

The Balkhī tradition is a collection of maps with commentary. There is an itinerary at the end of each chapter. The Khazar Sea is a separate map and the comment on it includes a list of distances. The original of al-Balkhī was rewritten and supplemented by al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawqal, who also recorded the list of distances: “The distances between the Khazar Sea and its provinces: There are about three hundred parasangs from Ābaskūn to the land of the Khazars on the right side [of the Caspian Sea] and there are also about three hundred parasangs from Ābaskūn up to Khazar on the left side of the traveler. There are six stations (*marḥala*) from Ābaskūn to Dihistān. You can cross the sea from Ṭabaristān to Bāb al-Abwāb with a favorable wind in a week; the route is longer from Ābaskūn to the land of the Khazars because (the route) is zigzagged. There is an eight days’ journey from Ätil to Samandar, four days from Samandar to Bāb al-Abwāb, three days between the kingdom of al-Sarīr and Bāb al-Abwāb. There



is a twenty days' journey from Ätil up to the first frontier of the Burtās, there are about fifteen days from the beginning up to the end of the Burtās (land). There is ten days' journey from the Burtās to the Bajanāk, one month's journey from Ätil to the Bajanāk. There is a month's journey from Ätil to Bulghār on the road across the steppe, about two months up-stream (on the Volga), and about twenty days down-stream. There is about ten days' journey from Bulghār to the first frontiers of al-Rūm (Byzantium), and there are about twenty stations from Bulghār to Kūyāba. There is ten days' journey from the Bajanāk to the Inner-Basjirt, there are twenty-five stations from Inner Basjirt to Bulghār."<sup>634</sup> The itinerary can be divided structurally into three units: the distances around the Caspian Sea starting from Ābaskūn; the routes from the Khazar capital to the neighbouring lands; and the list of the distances from Bulghār, a land and at the same time a town at the confluence of the Volga and the Kāma.

Ätil, the Khazar capital and commercial centre, had four routes. The first lead southwest to the eastern end of the Caucasus. There are several parallel descriptions of the same march. The Jayhānī tradition described it in the chapter on al-Sarīr: "You travel from the Khazar to the Sarīr twelve days in open country, then you ascend a high mountain (and cross) valleys for three days before reaching the Castle of the King, which stands on the top of a mountain and occupies an area of four *farsakhs* by four *farsakhs* and is surrounded by a stone wall."<sup>635</sup> The twelve days' journey corresponds to the distance Ätil-Samandar-Derbent as given by al-Iṣṭakhrī.

The Alan chapter of the Jayhānī tradition mentioned a junction of this southern route toward the west: "Travelling to the left (to the west) of the kingdom of the Sarīr you journey among mountains and meadows for three days and arrive in the kingdom of the Alans ... Then you travel for ten days among rivers and trees before reaching the castle called Bāb Allān."<sup>636</sup> The latter is the castle controlling the route of the Dariel Pass south of Vladikavkaz.

Al-Mas'ūdī recorded the distances in his chapter on the Caucasus: "The latter's (Khazar king) capital Samandar was a town lying eight days' distance from al-Bāb (Derbent) ... the capital was transferred from it to the town of Ätil sit-

634 BGA I, 226–227; BGA II<sup>2</sup>, 398; Kramers, Wiet 1964, 388–389; Kmoskó 1/2, 32–33.

635 Minorsky 1958, 167; Ibn Rusta: BGA VII, 147; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 87–88. Gardīzī: Ḥabībī 1963, 278; Martínez 1982, 170; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 182. Al-Bakrī: Leeuwen, Ferre 1992, 449; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 229. The last two authors give a figure of twelve *farsakhs* and not twelve days.

636 Minorsky 1958, 169; Ibn Rusta: BGA VII, 148; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 92–93. Gardīzī: Ḥabībī 1963, 278–279; Martínez 1982, 172; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 183. Al-Bakrī: Leeuwen, Ferre 1992, 450; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 229.

uated seven days' distance from it."<sup>637</sup> The route between Derbent and the Khazar capital is a fifteen-day journey via Samandar, which is given as twelve days in the account of the Balkhī tradition. The difference can be explained by the confusion of the town Samandar with Balanjar by al-Mas'ūdī, and in that case the route between Derbent and Balanjar must be taken into consideration.<sup>638</sup>

The second route from the Khazar capital led to the Burtas, which was studied above. The march of ten stations between the Burtas and the Pechenegs is obviously the distance to those Pechenegs who moved to the northern coast of the Black Sea circa 895. In that case the month's journey between Ātil and the Pechenegs seems to be authentic in the passage of the Balkhī tradition.

The third route from the Khazar city led to the west. The one-month march may indicate the distance to the mouth of the Don, or even to areas beyond it.

The fourth route led to the Volga Bulgars. About 1400 kilometers lie between Astrakhan and Bulgar on the Volga. It took twenty days to get there downstream, or seventy kilometers daily, and it took two months going upstream, which is twenty-three kilometers per day. The distance is about 1000 kilometers on land, which took a month, or a march of thirty kilometers daily.

The itineraries starting from the Bulgars are difficult to interpret, as determination of the exact starting point is precarious. The term *Bulghār* denoted at least two towns, one on the the Volga (modern *Bolgary*) and the other by the village *Bilyarsk* and the land of the Volga Bulgars, an area at the confluence of the Volga-Kama region. Another obscure point is the difference in calculation of distances. It is ten days' journey from Bulgar to the border of Byzantium; however, Kiev was twenty days' march from Bulgar. Kmoskó identified the first of the Byzantine (*Rūm*) borders with the Greek towns on the southern strip of the Crimean peninsula,<sup>639</sup> but this is contradictory to the geographical setting. It is probably safe to assume that the author confused the Danube and Volga Bulgars, and the ten days' journey referred to the distance between Byzantium and the Danube Bulgars. Polgár analyzed the route from Bulgar to Kiev and suggested that the twenty-five days' distance between Inner Basjirt and Bulgar led through Kiev. In this way, he reconstructed a route that led from the confluence of the Volga and Kama via Kiev to the outer edges of the Carpathian Basin.<sup>640</sup>

The Balkhī tradition gave the following geographical location of Pechenegs: their lands lay ten days' journey from the Burtas, a month's distance from the

637 *Murūj* 11, 7; 11<sup>2</sup>, 212; Minorsky 1958, 146; Rotter 1978, 86; Kmoskó 1/2, 170.

638 Kmoskó 1/2, 170, note 114, 205–206, note 9; Dunlop 1954, 205, note 186.

639 Kmoskó 1/2, 33, note 173.

640 Polgár 2001, 163–165.

Khazar capital, ten days from the Inner Basjirt, i.e. the Magyars living in the Carpathian Basin. It is worthwhile comparing these data with the geographical description of the contemporary Byzantine emperor, Constantine Porphyrogenitus: "Patzinacia is distant a five days' journey from Uzia and Chazaria, a six days' journey from Alania, a ten days' journey from Mordia, one day's journey from Russia, a four days' journey from 'Turkey,' half a day's journey from Bulgaria, to Cherson it is very near, and to Bosphorus closer still."<sup>641</sup> According to Györffy it took four days to cross the Carpathians between Turkia, i.e. the Magyar land, and the country of the Pechenegs, while it took half a day to pass the marshy strip of the lower Danube between the Danube Bulgars and Pechenegs.<sup>642</sup> The Byzantine emperor recorded the extent of the Pechenegs' lands in the 10th century: "From the lower reaches of the Danube, opposite to Distra, Patzinacia stretches along, and its inhabitants control the territory as far as Sarkel, the city of the Chazars ..."<sup>643</sup> It is mentioned in the chapter on the Pechenegs that four tribes of the Pechenegs lived west of the Dnieper, and four of them east of the river.<sup>644</sup> The ten days' journey between the Pechenegs and Burtas in the Balkhī tradition can be associated with the similar distance between Mordia (Mordvins) and Pechenegs by Constantine Porphyrogenitus. The differences are significant in connection with the Magyars and Khazars. The distances of four and ten days' journey between the Pechenegs and Hungary obviously cannot represent the same route. The one-month march from the Khazar capital to the Pechenegs might be interpreted as a distance between the two royal residences, on the lower Volga and on the Dnieper, whereas the journey of five days, which is about 150 kilometers, referred to an area between the borders of the Pechenegs and Khazaria in the lower reaches west of the Don.

Constantine Porphyrogenitus also recorded a geographical description of the north coast of the Black Sea in Chapter 42 of the *De administrando imperio*: "From the Danube river to the aforesaid city Sarkel is a journey of sixty days ... The distance along the sea-coast from the Danube river to the Dniester river is 120 miles. From the Dniester River to the River Dnieper is 80 miles, the so-called 'gold-coast.' After the mouth of the River Dnieper comes Adara, and there is a great gulf, called Nekropylya, where it is utterly impossible for a man to pass through. From Dnieper river to Cherson is 300 miles; and between are marshes and harbours, in which the Chersonites work salt. Between Cherson

641 DAI, 168–169; Belke, Soustal 1995, 186; Moravcsik 1950, 168–169.

642 Györffy 1990, 197–199.

643 DAI, 182–183; Belke, Soustal 1995, 199; Moravcsik 1950, 182–183.

644 DAI, 168–169; Belke, Soustal 1995, 186; Moravcsik 1950, 168–169.

and Bosphorus are the cities of the Regions, and the distance is 300 miles. After Bosphorus comes the mouth of the Maeotic lake, which for its size everybody calls a sea ... This same gulf of Maeotis comes opposite to, and within about four miles of, the Nekropyła that are near the Dnieper river, and joins them where the ancients dug a ditch and carried the sea through, enclosing within all the land of Cherson and of the Regions and the land of the Bosphorus, which cover up to 1000 miles or even rather more.”<sup>645</sup> Obolensky analyzed this chapter and came to the conclusion that it contains a description of the areas along the northern borders of the Byzantine Empire and might have been based on reports of Byzantine envoys. The journey started from Thessalonica and reached Belgrade, then followed the lower Danube to its estuary; from there it passed along the coast of the Black Sea to the Dniester River, and to the mouth of the Dnieper. Then the route led to Kherson, following the coast along Karkin Gulf to reach the Crimean peninsula on the east coast as far as Kherson (Sevastopol). The territory from Kherson to Bosphorus (Kerch), the southern Crimea, was Byzantine territory. The envoy travelled from Kherson to Bosphorus, then crossed the Kerch Strait and followed the east coast of the Black Sea. The author incorporated the account of the Rus', who lived on the river Dnieper, in the description, as well as the story of the construction of the fortress called Sarkel on the Don.<sup>646</sup>

As for distances in medieval Eastern Europe, the data Herodotus gives on Scythia and the data we have on the Golden Horde may be taken into consideration as analogous.

The Muslim authors of the 14th century, al-ʿUmarī and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, recorded relevant information on the distances of the territories of Golden Horde. Al-ʿUmarī was born in Damascus in 1301 to a high-ranking official's family and accordingly received a good education. He was active in public service until 1345, then he retired and wrote books until his death in 1349, when the plague reached Damascus. His work, *Routes toward insight into the capital empires (Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār)*, is an encyclopedia encompassing literature, history, geography, religion, law, politics, and administration.<sup>647</sup> The second chapter, about the Mongol Empire, was published by Lech. Al-ʿUmarī described (among others) the Golden Horde using the reports of merchants and diplomats.<sup>648</sup>

645 DAI, 184–187; Belke, Soustal 1995, 201–202; Moravcsik 1950, 184–187.

646 Obolensky 1971, 24–29.

647 GAS XIV, 291–299.

648 K.S. Salibi, Ibn Faḍl Allah al-ʿUmarī: EI<sup>2</sup>, III, 758–759; Lech 1968, 13–60.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, one of the great travelers of the medieval Islamic world, was born in Tangier in 1304. He went on the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1325, after which he visited Iraq, the western provinces of Persia, Yemen, and East Africa. In 1332 he traveled to Syria and Asia Minor. Afterwards he crossed the Black Sea and arrived at the city of Kerch in the Crimea and continued his journey on land to the city called Crimea, then he arrived at the city of Azov by the Strait of Perekop at the estuary of the Don. He went from there to the foothills of the Caucasus and reached the towns *Majar* and *Bish Dagh*, i.e. *Pyatigorsk*, where he met Özbek Khan, the ruler of the Golden Horde. He moved with the Khan to Astrakhan. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa accompanied the third wife of the Khan, the daughter of the Byzantine emperor, from the Volga to Constantinople. He then returned to the lower Volga and visited Saray, the capital of the Özbek Khans. He journeyed from there via the city Sarachuq on the Ural River to Khwārazm.<sup>649</sup> He passed Transoxania and Afghanistan and arrived in the Sultanate of Delhi, and from there he went to China and Sumatra. In 1349 he returned to Tunis and dictated the adventures he experienced during his travels.<sup>650</sup>

Finally, the Italian merchant Pegolotti described a travel from Azov to China via Astrakhan Saray, Sarachuq, Urgench, and Otrar in the first half of the 14th century.<sup>651</sup>

The description of al-ʿUmarī may serve as a starting point from which parallel pieces of information may be taken into consideration. Al-ʿUmarī wrote about the distances in the Golden Horde: “It takes a caravan to get from Jayḥūn (Amu Darya) to Ṭūnā (Danube) four months. This is the breadth of the kingdom. There are great and famous rivers in the country (the Golden Horde) including the Sayḥūn (Syr Darya), the Jayḥūn, the Ṭūnā, the Atil (Volga), the Yāyiq (Ural), the Tan,<sup>652</sup> and Ṭurlū.<sup>653</sup> There is a four months’ journey from Sayḥūn to Ṭūnā. It is fifteen days between Sayḥūn and Jayḥūn. The distance is

649 GAS XV, 161–176; Gibb 1962, 465–517; Gibb determined the chronological order of the journey of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in Asia Minor and Eastern Europe; Gibb 1962, II, 528–532. On the journey to Constantinople see: Karayannopoulos, Weiss 1982, 502; Richard 1999, 98.

650 A. Miquel, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa: EI<sup>2</sup>, III, 735–736; Gibb 1962.

651 Yule 1914, 137–142; Lech 1968, 254.

652 Probably the Don. The Turkic *Ten*; the Chagatay and Ottoman forms came from the Crimean Tatar. Its name might derive from the Iranian word *dan* meaning ‘river water’ (Ligeti 1986, 172–173).

653 Ṭurlū is the Turkic name of the Dniester, which is found in Constantine Porphyrogenitus in the form Troullos (Moravcsik 1962, 149; Belke, Soustal 1995, 192). According to Abū'l-Fidā' the Aqcha Karman, i.e. Dniester white fortress, was located near the mouth of the Ṭurlū (Géographie d'Aboulféda, 213; Lech 1968, 307, note 97).

also fifteen days' journey from Jayhūn to Yāyiq, a ten days' journey from Yāyiq to Atil, and one month from Atil to Tan, ten days' journey from Tan to ʿUtlū, and again one month from ʿUtlū to ʿUṅā.<sup>654</sup> Lech commented on the distances and pointed out that the four months' journey, i.e. the extent of the Golden Horde, does not correspond to the sum of the distances, i.e. 110 days between the eastern and western borders.<sup>655</sup> Lech interpreted the fifteen days between Syr Darya and Amu Darya as the distance between Otrar and Urgench. Pegolotti estimated the same route as 35–40 days in camel-wagons. The difference can be explained by whether the traveler went by fast cart or joined a caravan.

The distance from Urgench on the Amu Darya to the Ural river is a 15-day journey, but Pegolotti wrote 20 days, while Ibn Baṭṭūṭa recorded 30 days. Both later authors mentioned the town Sarajuq,<sup>656</sup> where the traveler could obtain horses and cross a pontoon bridge over the Ural River.<sup>657</sup> The ten days' distance between the Ural and the Volga appears identical with the same ten-day route between Sarajuq and New Saray<sup>658</sup> recorded by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.<sup>659</sup> It took Pegolotti eight days to journey the same route, but he probably departed not from New Saray but Old Saray,<sup>660</sup> and he might have chosen the water route that led along the Volga and the coast of the Caspian Sea to the estuary of the Ural. Another western traveler, Pascal, took twelve days to sail from New Saray to Sarachik in 1388.<sup>661</sup> The route between the Volga and the Don is 30 days. If that refers to the distance between New Saray and Tana (Azov), this is difficult to interpret, because it took 10–12 days by horse-wagon or 25 days by ox-wagon, according to Pegolotti.<sup>662</sup> It may be assumed that al-ʿUmarī recorded an indirect route. The ten days' journey between Don and Dniester is an evident mistake from the geographical point of view. Lech suspected that the author reversed the last two data. The journey of one month is the distance between the towns of Azov

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654 Lech 1968, 75–76; cf. 142.

655 Lech 1968, 307, note 98.

656 The town Saraychik was near the mouth of the Ural River, 60 kilometers north of the present town of Guriev (Egorov, 1985, 124–125).

657 Gibb 1971, 539; Yule 1914, 147.

658 The town New Saray can be identified with the village Zarev, which was excavated near Volgograd (Egorov, 1985, 112–114).

659 Gibb 1971, 539.

660 Traditionally, it is only known as Saray. It was a settlement at Selitrennoye (Egorov, 1985, 114–117).

661 Lech 1968, 308.

662 Yule 1914, 146.

and Akkerman on the estuaries of the Don and the Dniester, while the distance between the Dniester and the Danube was not a one-month journey but rather a trip of ten days.<sup>663</sup>

Herodotus recorded the distances in his Scythian excursus in Book Four: “101. Scythia, then, being a four-sided country, whereof two sides are sea-board, the frontiers running inland and those that are by the sea make it a perfect square; for it is a ten days’ journey from the Ister to the Borysthenes, and the same from the Borysthenes to the Maeetian lake; and it is a twenty days’ journey from the sea inland to the country of the Black-cloaks who dwell north of Scythia. Now as I reckon a day’s journey at two hundred furlongs, the cross-measurement of Scythia would be a distance of four thousand furlongs, and the line drawn straight up inland the same. Such then is the extent of this land.”<sup>664</sup>

Herodotus’ geographical description is worth comparing with the data on the Magyars’ lands in the Jayhānī tradition and may be used analogously in connection with marine and river names, which are dealt with later. The rectangular shape of the area of Scythia was interpreted in different ways. It is accepted that the quadrangle must have been projected onto the area between the Danube and the Don. Niebuhr assumed that Herodotus’ geographical picture differs from modern geographical knowledge, and thus Herodotus’ original conception must be comprehended. Accordingly, the western side of the quadrangle was the lower reaches of the Danube (Ister), its southern side the Black Sea (Pontus), its eastern side the coast of the Azov Sea as far as the estuary of the Don (Maiotis Sea, Tanais), and its northern border the line from the Danube Bend to the estuary of the Don. Krechetov accepted Herodotus’ idea as a basis for reconstructing the borders of Scythia: Its western side was the Olt River, its southern border the lower Danube and the northern coast of the Black Sea up to the Karkina Bay, and its eastern limit the eastern part of the Crimean Peninsula, the Kerch Strait, the western coast of the Azov Sea and the lower Don; its northern border followed the line Kamenets-Podolsky-Kermenchuk-Dniepropetrovsk Novocherkassk.<sup>665</sup> The western frontier of Scythia is generally determined by the left-side of the lower Danube; the eastern side is terminated by the Crimean Peninsula and the western coast of the Azov Sea. Nevertheless, the Don or the northern basin of the Donets were also taken into consideration. The southern border might be either the sea shore between estuaries of the Danube and the Don or the line running from the mouth of the Danube to

663 Lech 1968, 309.

664 Herodotus II, 302–305; Feix 1988, 577; Dovatur 1982, 140–141.

665 Dovatur 1982, 339–341, note 592; Herodotus, *Commentary*, 652.

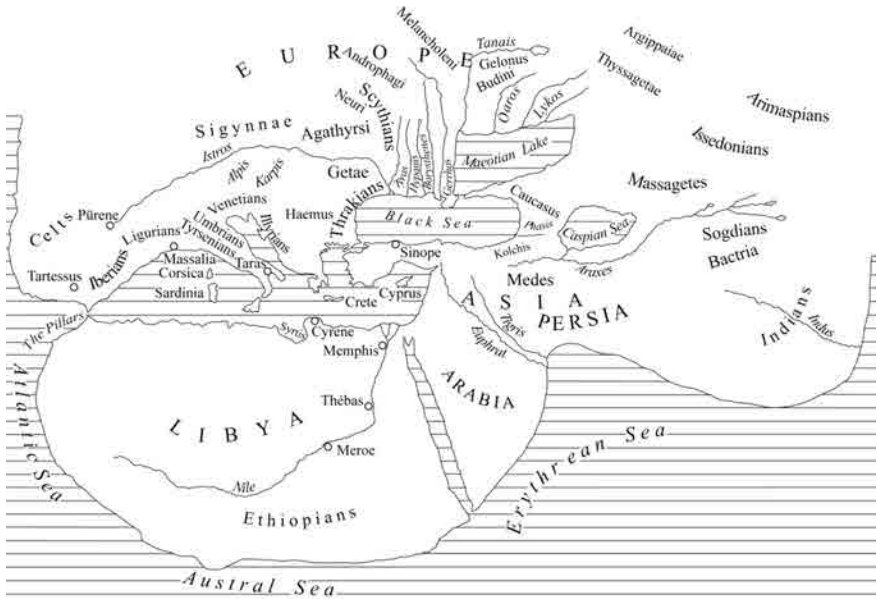


FIGURE 5 *The world of Herodotus.*  
 MAP BY RICHÁRD SZÁNTÓ, ADAPTED FROM MURAKÖZY 1989.

the Sea of Azov and the Kerch Strait. The northern border may have been a line along the latitude  $52.5^\circ$  or  $53^\circ$ .<sup>666</sup> Herodotus used furlongs for measurements of distance, but it is uncertain whether he meant the Attic or Ionic stade. The length of the former is 177.6 meters, the latter 210 meters; 200 stades was a day's journey, which is between 35 and 42 kilometers. The length of Scythia was 20 days, i.e. 4000 stades (circa 700 or 840 kilometers). The territory of Scythia can be approximated by a square, each side of which can be fixed circa 700–750 kilometers in Herodotus' work.<sup>667</sup> This is much the same order of magnitude as in the details on the lands of the Magyars given in the report of the Jayhānī tradition.

In summary, the Magyar lands of one hundred by one hundred parasangs would be a country of great extent compared with contemporary details. Its size corresponded to that of the Danube Bulgars, but was smaller than the realm of the Pechenegs in the Kazakh steppe prior to their western migration around 895. It was, however, larger than the country of the Burtas and the core area of the Khazars in the 10th century. Constantine Porphyrogenitus

666 Dovatur 1982, 341–342, note 594–595.

667 Dovatur 1982, 236–237, note 212, 326, note 510, 342–343, note 597.



localized the Magyar lands in the same territory where the Pechenegs lived in the 10th century, which extended from the lower Danube to Sarkel, although he gave another geographical definition: “The place of the Pechenegs, in which at that time the Turks lived, is called after the name of the local rivers. The rivers are these: the first river is that called Barouch (Dnieper), the second river that called Koubou (Bug), the third river that called Troullos (Turla ~ Dniester), the fourth river that called Broutos (Prut) and fifth river that called Seretos (Siret).”<sup>668</sup> There are two possible interpretations of this in Hungarian historiography. The narrower framework includes the area between the Siret and the Dnieper, while a more extensive area was bounded by the Danube and the Don. In any case, the Danube-Siret seems to be a secure base; as for the eastern limit, it must be located east of the estuary of the Dnieper, probably between the Isthmus of Perekop and the estuary of the Don, if the Magyars regularly visited the Byzantine territory in the Crimea as mentioned in the Jayhānī tradition.

## 8 The Sea of Rūm and Its Two Rivers, Fishing in the Winter Quarters

Ibn Rusta: One border of their country reaches the Sea of Rūm. Two rivers flow into this sea. One of them is bigger than the Jayḥūn (Oxus). The lands of the Magyars lie between these two rivers. When the days of winter come, all of them set up their camps on the river, whichever of the two rivers lies nearer to them. They stay there during the winter catching fish from the river. It is the most appropriate winter quarters for them.

Gardizī: Their country adjoins the Sea of Rūm. Two rivers (*Jayḥūn*) flow into this sea. One of them is bigger than the Jayḥūn (Oxus). The lands of the Magyars lie between these two rivers.<sup>669</sup> When the days of the winter come, all of them set up their camps on the river (*Jayḥūn*), whichever of the two rivers (*Jayḥūn*) lies nearer to them. They stay there during the winter catching fish and find their sustenance thereby.

al-Bakrī: One border of their country reaches the country of Rūm,

Abū'l-Fidā': One border of their country reaches the country of Rūm,

*Hudūd al-ʿālam*: In winter they stay on the bank of a river which separates them from the Rūs. Their food is fish and they live on it.

668 DAI, 174–175; Belke. Soustal 1995, 192; Moravcsik 1950, 174–175; 1984, 45.

669 Nyitrai translated: “They dwell in the middle of this river” (Nyitrai 1996, 73), while Martinez interpreted the passage thus: “they dwell between these (two) river (s)” (Martinez 1982, 160).

Al-Marwazī: One border of their country reaches the Sea of Rūm. There are found here two rivers which flow into this sea. One of them is bigger than the Jayhūn (Oxus). The lands of the Magyars lie between these two rivers.

‘Awfī: Their country adjoins the Sea of Rūm. The lands of this people lie on the banks of two rivers.

Shukrallāh: Their country adjoins the land of Rūm. Their lands lie on the banks of two rivers.

Shūkrallāh: Their country adjoins the land of Rūm. Their resting places and quarters lie on the banks of two rivers.

Muḥammad Kātib: Their country is adjacent to the land of Rūm.

Ḥājji Khalīfa: between two large rivers,

The base text mentioned the Sea of Rūm, which was replaced by the country (*bilād ~ zamīn*) of Rūm in such later works as al-Bakrī and his follower Abū’l-Fidā’. The same change occurred in the Persian and Turkic versions of Shukrallāh and in the work of Muḥammad Kātib, which in both cases is a typical text deterioration.

Al-Marwazī’s text is identical with the first part of Ibn Rusta and Gardīzī. The latter two gave further description of the winter quarters of the Magyars, drawing from a common source that was also copied by the author of the *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam*. Al-Marwazī and his followers ‘Awfī, Shukrallāh, and Muḥammad Kātib recorded the names of the two rivers, which will be analysed in detail in paragraph 10. Gardīzī also mentioned the names of the two rivers, but Ibn Rusta omitted them. The texts of the authors following al-Marwazī reflect minor changes, namely, they put the comparison of the size of the rivers with the Jayhūn after the names of the two rivers (see paragraph 10).

The Jayhūn was mentioned in Gardīzī’s text in several contexts, a fact requiring further explanation. Kmoskó suggested that Gardīzī might have had three rivers in mind.<sup>670</sup> According to Minorsky and Nyitrai, Gardīzī applied the word *Jayhūn* with two meanings: as a proper name it denoted the Amu Darya, and secondarily a new meaning developed as a common noun ‘river.’<sup>671</sup> Martinez ascertained that there is clear text deterioration here and reconstructed on the basis of Ibn Rusta’s text the following: (*wa dū jūy*) *bar ān daryā uftad ke (yākī az ānhā) az rūd-i-Jayhūn (buzurgtar bāshad)* “The two rivers flow into this sea, one of which is larger than the river Oxus.”<sup>672</sup>

670 Kmoskó 1929, 36–37.

671 Minorsky 1939, 321; Nyitrai 1996, 69.

672 Martinez 1982, 160.

### *The Roman Sea*

The *Baḥr al-Rūm*, ‘the Sea of the Romans,’ is the name of the Mediterranean in Muslim geographic literature.<sup>673</sup> It may be translated in principle as ‘Black Sea,’<sup>674</sup> which is a correct interpretation from both the historical and the geographical points of view, although certain difficulties arise. The river Ātil mentioned later as one of the two rivers flowing into the sea in paragraph 10 is also to be found in the chapter on the Volga Bulgars in the Jayhānī tradition: “Bulkār is adjacent to country of the Burdās. They dwell on the edge of the river that flows into the Sea of the Khazars called Ātil.”<sup>675</sup> The river is the Volga and the Sea of the Khazars is the Caspian Sea. There are contradictions in the two descriptions, which were drawn from different informants. The interpretation of the term Sea of *Rūm* needs a short review of the geographical picture in Muslim geographical literature concerning the oceans and seas.

The seas are recorded in the Koran several times. The Koran mentions two seas in Verse 53 of the 25th Sura: “And He it is Who has made two seas to flow freely, the one sweet that subdues thirst by its sweetness, and the other salt that burns by its saltness; and between the two He has made a barrier and inviolable obstruction.” Similarly, according to Verse 61 of the 27th Sura: “Or, Who made the earth a resting place, and made in it rivers, and raised on it mountains and placed between the two seas a barrier. Is there a god with Allah? Nay! most of them do not know!” Finally, there are Verses 19–20 of the 55th Sura: “He has made the two seas to flow freely (so that) they meet together. Between them is a barrier which they cannot pass.” The two seas, the *Baḥr al-Rūm* and *Baḥr Fārs*, are the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean, and in the geographical literature are known also as the sweet and bitter waters. The whole concept and the idea of a barrier between them are of Iranian origin.<sup>676</sup> By contrast, there is another number given in Verse 27 of the 31st Sura: “And were every tree that is in the earth (made into) pens and the sea (to supply it with ink), with seven more seas to increase it, the words of Allah would not come to an end; surely Allah is Mighty, Wise.”

673 D.M. Dunlop, *Baḥr al-Rūm*: EI<sup>2</sup> I, 934.

674 МНК, 168; МЕН, 88 Czeglédy interpreted the Sea of *Rūm* as Byzantine, i.e. the Black Sea, in square brackets. Earlier he translated it as Black Sea (МÓТ, 36).

675 Ibn Rusta: BGA VII, 141; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 57; see Gardīzi: Ḥabībī 1963, 273; Martínez 1982, 157; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 170.

676 Maqbul Ahmad, *Djuḡhrāfiyā*: EI<sup>2</sup> I, 575, 577.

The outstanding geographer of the late 10th century, al-Muqaddasī, reconciled the contradiction between these ideas in his geographical work with the following explanation: “Again, suppose it were to be argued that the seas are seven in number, since God—may He be exalted and glorified—has said: ... (Koran 31: 27), and the addition be made of al-Maqlūba (the Dead Sea) and the Sea of Khwārazm (the Aral Sea); the reply is that God—may He be exalted—did not say ‘the seas are seven in number,’ but rather He mentions only the Sea of the Arabs, and suggests that if there should be seven seas like it and they, too, were to be made into ink.”<sup>677</sup> Al-Muqaddasī insisted on the idea of two seas, by which the West Sea is the Mediterranean Sea and the East Sea is the Indian Ocean in his system. The obstacle or barrier separating the two seas from each other was the isthmus where the Suez Canal<sup>678</sup> was built. Muslim geographical literature was based first and foremost on the Koran, but Iranian geographical knowledge left its mark on it, as cited above; in addition, Greek scientific ideas found their way to Muslim intellectuals: al-Mas‘ūdī mentioned five seas, quoting this from the *Geographia* of Ptolemy.<sup>679</sup>

As for the number of seas, two Muslim geographers gathered data on this point in the 10th century. Al-Muqaddasī insisted on the concept of two seas in the Koran, but he knew of other numbers: “Abū Zayd (al-Balkhī) made the seas three in number, by the addition of the ocean (Muḥīṭ<sup>680</sup>), but we ourselves do not include it in our reckoning, because it, as is said, encircles the world as a ring having neither bound nor limit. As for al-Jayhānī, he makes the seas five in number, by the addition of the Sea of the Khazars (Caspian), and of the Gulf of Constantinople ... Again, suppose it were to be argued that the seas are seven in number ... and the addition be made of al-Maqlūba (the Dead Sea) and the Sea of Khwārazm (the Aral Sea).”<sup>681</sup>

The other author is al-Mas‘ūdī, who discussed the number of seas in the geographical introduction of his work entitled *Murūj*: “These are some general notes about the seas. Most authors think that there are four in the inhabited part of the earth, some of them reckon five, some others reckon six,

677 BGA III, 16–17; Collins 1994, 18; see Miquel 1980, 235–236.

678 D.M. Dunlop, *Baḥr al-Rūm*: E1<sup>2</sup> I, 935.

679 *Murūj* I, 184; II<sup>2</sup>, 101; Pellat 1962 I, 77.

680 The term means the sea encircling the earth, which is the Arabic equivalent of the Greek word *Okeanos* or *Ocean*.

681 BGA III, 16–17; Collins 1994, 17–18.

and some of them are of the opinion that there are seven separate and non-interconnecting (seas). The first is the Indian Ocean (*Baḥr al-Ḥabash*), the others are the Mediterranean Sea (*al-Rūmī*), the Black Sea (*Bunṭus* ~ Pontus), the Sea of Azov (*Māyūṭis* ~ Maeotis), the Caspian Sea (*al-Khazarī*), and the Ocean (*Uqayānus*), whose limits are unknown; it is the Green, the Dark, and the Encircling Sea. The Black Sea is connected with the Sea of Azov. The Channel of Constantinople comes from it (Black Sea) and flows into the Mediterranean Sea, and it is in contact with it, as we have already mentioned.<sup>682</sup>

The concepts of these two authors are completely reflected in contemporary Muslim sources. Ibn Ḥawqal recorded a detailed account representing the Balkhī tradition:

As for the seas, two of them are the most famous; the two greatest are the Indian Ocean (*Baḥr Fārs*, the Persian Sea), then the Mediterranean Sea (*Baḥr al-Rūm*). They are two bays facing each other and both come from the Encircling Sea (the ocean). The larger of the two in length and width is the Persian Sea. To he who explores the Persian Sea on land, it extends from the border of China to *al-Qulzum*.<sup>683</sup> If you travel from Qulzum to China along a straight line, it takes about two hundred stations; likewise, if you wish to travel from al-Qulzum to the extreme end of Maghrib (West Africa) along a straight line, you find (a distance) one hundred and eighty stations. If you travel from Qulzum to the territory of ʿIrāq over land along a straight line, you traverse the land al-Samāwa,<sup>684</sup> which takes you about one month, from ʿIrāq to the river of Balkh (Oxus, Amu Darya) the route is about two months; from the river of Balkh as far as the end of Islam, on the border of Farghana, the trip is a little over twenty stations; from there you traverse the entire country of Kharlukhiyya (Karluks) and come to the provinces of the Toghuzoghuz (Uyгур), which journey is little more than thirty stations; and from this place to the Encircling Sea (the ocean), which is located on the last province of China, the route is about two months. If someone wishes to travel this route from Qulzum to China by sea, the distance would be greater because of the number of turns of the trip in these seas.

682 *Murūj* I, 271–272; II<sup>2</sup>, 146; Pellat 1962 I, 111–112.

683 *Qulzum* can be explained from the Greek word Κλύσμα, which has been identified with the city of Suez (C.H. Becker, C.F. Beckingham, *Baḥr al-Ḳulzum*: EI<sup>2</sup> I, 931–933).

684 The desert between Kufa and Syria, which the caravans crossed (C.E. Bosworth, *Samāwa*: EI<sup>2</sup> VIII, 1041).

As for the Mediterranean Sea (*Baḥr al-Rūm*), it comes from the Encircling Sea (the ocean) through the gulf (Strait of Gibraltar) which lies between Maghrib and Andalus, and it comes to an end at the Frontier which is called Syria; its extent is about four months' travel. It is better than the Persian Sea, as the routes are straight. Namely, if you depart from the mouth of this gulf, the same wind carries you to most of the ports of that sea. There are three stations between al-Qulzum, which is a tongue/arm (the Red Sea) of the Persian Sea, and the road of al-Faramā<sup>685</sup> on Mediterranean Sea. Some Koran exegetes believe in Allah's words: 'Between them is a barrier (*barzakh*) which they cannot pass' referring to this place,<sup>686</sup> while other commentators of the Koran have a different opinion. The Mediterranean Sea (*Baḥr al-Rūm*) goes slightly more than twenty stations beyond al-Faramā, which was mentioned among the distances of Maghrib, so there is no need for its repetition. There are about one hundred and eighty stations from Egypt to the uttermost part of Maghrib. There are about four hundred stations between the eastern end of the Earth and its eastern end.

As for its length from its northern end to its southern end, you depart from the shore of the Encircling Sea (the ocean) and come to the land of Gog and Magog, then pass behind the land of the Ṣaḳāliba and traverse the land of Inner Bulghār<sup>687</sup> and the Ṣaḳāliba. You go through the land of Rūm (Byzantium), Syria, the land of Egypt and Nubia. Then you will continue on your way through a desert between the land of Sūdān and the land of Zanj until you reach the the Encircling Sea (the ocean). This is the line that is drawn between the northern and southern parts of the Earth. What I have learned about the distances along this line is the following: there are about forty stations from Gog to Bulghār and the land of the Ṣaḳāliba, sixty stations from the land of the Ṣaḳāliba via the land of Rūm (Byzantium) to Syria; about thirty stations from the land of Syria to the land of Egypt, and there are about eighty stations from there to the end of Nubia until you get to the desert, which is impenetrable. It is altogether two hundred and ten stations in cultivated and inhabited territories. But as for the area that lies between Gog and Magog and the Encircling Sea

685 It is near Pelusium, on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea (S. Soucek, *Minā*: EI<sup>2</sup> VII, 69).

686 The author refers to Verse 20 of the 55th Sura of the Koran.

687 The term was used for the Danube Bulgars. This tradition applied to them the expression Outer or Greater Bulgaria (Zimonyi 1990, 108–110).

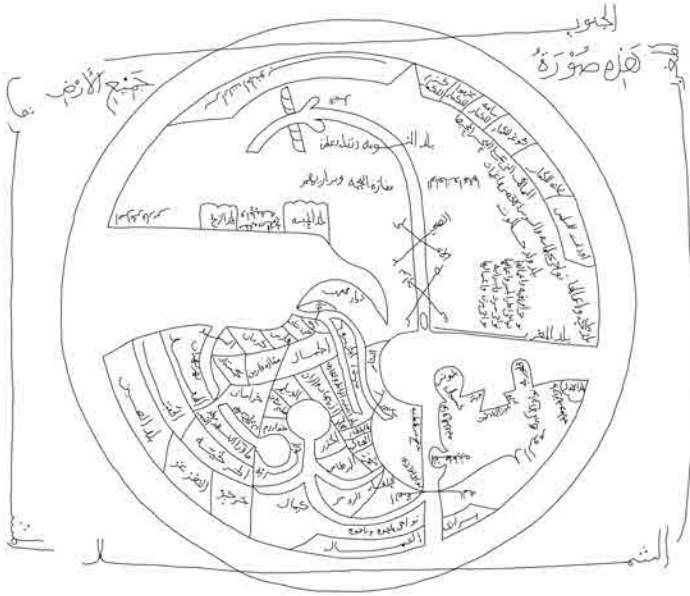


FIGURE 6.1 *Map of the earth by Ibn Hawqal*

MAP BY RICHÁRD SZÁNTÓ, ADAPTED FROM BGA II<sup>2</sup>, P. 7

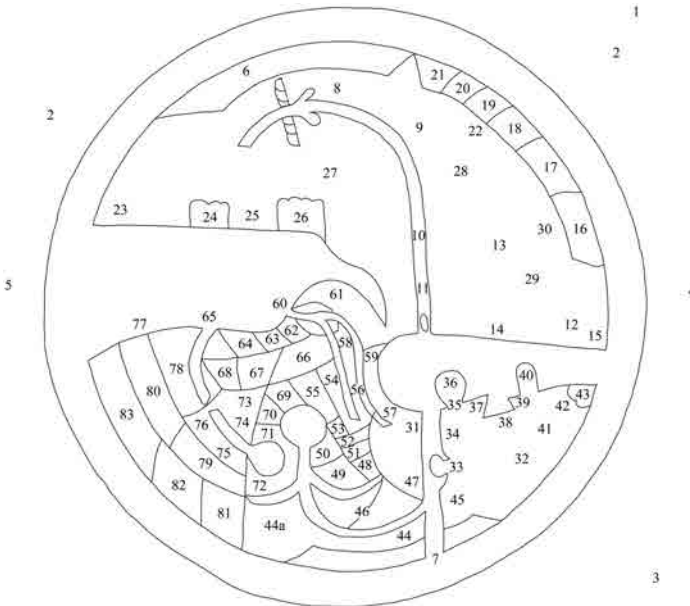


FIGURE 6.2 *Map of the earth by Ibn Hawqal*

MAP BY RICHÁRD SZÁNTÓ, ADAPTED FROM J.H. KRAMERS,  
G. WIET, 1964, I. PP. 13–14

(the ocean) in the north, and the area between the desert of Sūdān and the Encircling Sea (the ocean) in the south, they are uninhabited deserts, and we have no knowledge about whether there are cultivated lands, animals or plants in them, so the extent of these two deserts as far as the shore of the ocean is not known, namely it is impossible to penetrate into them due to the severe cold in the north which excludes dwelling and life there, and due to the severe heat in the south, which prevents dwelling and life there. The whole territory lying between China and Maghrib is cultivated.

The Encircling Sea (the ocean) surrounds the earth as a ring. The Mediterranean Sea (*Baḥr al-Rūm*) and Indian Ocean (Persian Sea) come from the Encircling Sea (the ocean).

As for the Caspian (Khazar) Sea, it is not related to the two seas in any way. Renowned authors put down many stories about this sea. I have also read several manuscripts of the *Geographia* by Ptolemy stating that it derives from Sea of Rūm. God forbid that a scholar like Ptolemy state an impossible thing or characterize it contrary to the facts. This sea is in a depression of the earth and is fed by sweet waters. The (rivers) flowing into it are the following: The river Atil (Volga), which is its largest source, the river of Rūs, and the rivers Kur and Araxes, then the waters of Jīl, Daylam, Ṭabaristān and the regions of Ghuzziyya. They are all freshwater, but the (riparian) soils are putrid and unhealthy (causing fever), and as a consequence the water is vapid. It is such a sea that if someone traveled on the shore starting from al-Khazar toward the countries of Azerbaijan, Daylam, Ṭabaristān and Jurjān, the desert by the mountains of Siyāh-Kūh, he would come back to the same place which he had left, without any obstacles from salt water that would stand in his way, except the afore-mentioned rivers with freshwater.

As for the lake of Khwārazm, it is not in conjunction with any other sea, similarly to the former. There are straits in the areas of Zanj and along the countries. There are also straits and seas in the land of Rūm (Byzantium), but no mention is made about them due to their small size in comparison with these seas and due to their large number. There is a strait coming from the Encircling Sea (the ocean) and it passes behind the land of the Ṣaḳāliba and traverses the land of Rūm (Byzantium) by Constantinople, until it flows finally into the Mediterranean Sea (*Baḥr al-Rūm*).<sup>688</sup>

688 Ibn Ḥawqal: BGA 11<sup>2</sup>, 11–13; Kramers, Wiet 1964, 11–13. Shorter variant see al-Iṣṭakhri: BGA 1, 5–8; Kmoskó 1/2, 15–17.



Names and phrases on the map of Ibn Ḥawqal:

In the upper part of the map: **South** (1), under it on the right and the left: **This is the map of the whole earth** (2), below: **North** (3), on the right: **West** (4), on the left **East** (5). The earth is divided into two parts: the southern and the northern hemispheres.

The **river Nile** (8) is located in the southern hemisphere. In the southern part of it is written: **the land of Nubia, Dongola and 'Alwa** (9), in the northern part **Upper Egypt** (10) then **the regions of Egypt** (11). Right of the mouth of the Nile, on the coast of the hemisphere, is **the land of Maghrib** (12). Above it, inside the hemisphere, **the regions and provinces of Barqa** (13). This is followed on the right by **the regions of Surt Ajdābiyya, the regions and provinces of Tripoli, the regions and provinces of Africa** (14). Then in the corner of the hemisphere, on the coast of the the Encircling Sea (the ocean): **the country and the provinces of Tangier** (15). Then it is followed on the coast by **the Muslim Awdaghust** (16), **the pagan Ghāna** (17), **the pagan Kūgha** (18), **the pagan Sāma** (19), **the pagan Ghariwā** (20), **the pagan Kazam** (21). Behind these names: **the kingdoms on the coast of the Encircling Sea (ocean)** (22). Then on the coast: **Southern deserts** (6). Then further in the corner of the hemisphere, where the Persian Sea begins: **the origin of the Persian Sea** (23). On the coast of this sea are: **the land of Zanj** (24), **the desert between Abyssinia and Zanj** (25), **the land of Abyssinia** (26). Between it and the Nile is **the desert and the steppes of Buja** (27). On the other side of the Nile are **the oases and its provinces** (28). Legible in the hemisphere behind it: **the land of the sons of Goliath** (29), then: **the regions of Sijlmasa, Farther Sūs and the areas of Aghmāt** (30).

There is a gulf/strait separating a part on the right side of the map from the northern hemisphere, which is called **the Strait of Constantinople** (31). Legible in this part: **the land of Rūm** (32), but the beginning of the word land (*balad*) is found in the other part of the hemisphere. On the coast of the smaller part in the middle of the gulf is **Constantinople** (33). Along the coast follow: **the regions of Macedonia** (34), then **Kasmīlī** (35), **Peloponnese** (36), **Badhrant** (37), **the bay of Venice** (38), **Otranto** (39), **Calabria** (40), **the regions of the Lombardy** (41), and **the regions of the Franks and Gaul** (42). In the corner is **the land of Andalusia** (43). On the lower side, on the Encircling Sea (the ocean): **the northern plains** (7). The word **North** was written from the left side of the gulf to the other part of the northern hemisphere. Legible in this part above the word *North*: **the regions of Gog and Magog** (44). Above Gog and Magog are **the Ṣaqāliba** (45), some of which are located in the smaller

part of the hemisphere. **The Bulghār and the Rūs** (46) is above them to the east. Then **the regions of Trapzond** (47) are on the gulf. Above the river which terminates the lands of Bulghār and the Rūs: **Bashjirt** (48), **Burtās** (49), **Khazar** (50), **Bajanākiyya** (51), **Bulghār** once again (52), then **the land of Sarīr** (53). Above this is **the land of Inner and Outer Armenia** (59), on the left are **Azerbaijan and Arrān** (55). To the left of Armenia is the river **Tigris** (56), then the **Euphrates** (57). Between them lies **Mesopotamia** (58). Legible between the Euphrates and the Sea: **Syria** (59). At the estuary of the rivers is **Iraq** (60), above it are **the countries of the Arabs** (61).

Legible left from Iraq, along the sea: **Hūzistān** (62), then **Fārs** (63), **Kermān** (64), **al-Sind** (65); below them are **Jibāl** (66), **the desert of Fārs** (67), **Sijistān** (68); below them are **Daylam** (69), **Ṭabaristān** (70), **Khwārazm** (71), **Ghuzziyya** (72), **Khurāsān** (73). Khurāsān is bordered by **the river Oxus** (74). Behind it is **Transoxania** (75). Legible above it: **belongs to the land of Šīn** (76), then above it: **Hind** (77) and next to it: **the river Indus** (78). Behind them are **Kharlukhiyya** (79) and **Tibet** (80). And behind them on the shore of the Encircling Sea (the ocean): **Kīmāk** (44a), **Khirkhīz** (81), **Toghuzoghuz** (82) and **the land of Šīn** (83).

Taking the text of Ibn Ḥawqal together with the map makes the description completely understandable. According to al-Muqaddasī, al-Balkhī took three seas into account. The difference between the conceptions of the two seas and the three seas is found in the Encircling Sea, since the Balkhī tradition holds the third sea to be the ocean round the earth. It is evident from the description of the Balkhī tradition that while they knew of the Khazar Sea, i.e. the Caspian Sea, it was not considered a real sea, if al-Muqaddasī's account is accurate.

Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadhānī mentioned four seas, which has special value as Ibn al-Nadīm claimed that he used the work of al-Jayhānī as his source.<sup>689</sup> He wrote a chapter about the seas:

Reports on the seas and as they surround the earth. There are four seas:

The Great Sea, which is the largest sea of the world. It comes from the west (Maghrib) and goes via al-Qulzum (Suez) until it reaches the Chinese Wāq-Wāq.<sup>690</sup> The Chinese Wāq-Wāq is different from the

689 Kmoskó 1/1, 44.

690 The term is identified with Madagascar, Japan and the Philippines (Miquel 1975, 511).

Wāq-Wāq of Yemen, namely only poor quality gold is exported from the Wāq-Wāq of Yemen.<sup>691</sup> This sea extends from al-Qulzum via Wādī al-Qura,<sup>692</sup> reaching Barbar<sup>693</sup> and ‘Uman (Oman); it passes al-Daybul<sup>694</sup> and al-Mūltān<sup>695</sup> until it reaches the mountain pass Ṣanf<sup>696</sup> toward China.

The second is the Western (*maghribī*, *dabūrī*)<sup>697</sup> Rūmī Sea. It stretches from Antioch to the Fortunate Island.<sup>698</sup> There is a gulf from it extending from Andalus as far as Farther Sūs.<sup>699</sup> Tarsus, al-Maṣṣīṣa (Mopsuestia), Alexandria and Tripoli are on the shore of this sea. The length of this sea is 2500 parasangs from Antioch to the Fortunate Islands, and its width is 500 parasangs.

The third sea is the Khurāsān or Khazar Sea, due to its proximity to the Khazars. It extends from them to Mūqān,<sup>700</sup> Ṭabaristān, Khwārazm and Bāb al-Abwāb. From the sea of Jurjān to the Gulf of the Khazars<sup>701</sup> it is a ten-day trip with favorable winds on the sea, or eight on the land. The sea is also called the ‘circle of Khurāsān’;<sup>702</sup> its diameter is one hundred

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- 691 Wāq-Wāq is a mythical land lying in the farthest part of the East and Africa (Miquel 1975, 511–513; G.R. Tibbetts, Shaekat M. Toorawa, Wākḡāk: E1<sup>2</sup> XI, 104–115).
- 692 It is a valley in southern Arabia: M. Lecker, Wādī l-Ḳurā: E1<sup>2</sup> XI, 18–19.
- 693 Presumably Berbera on the coast of East Africa (I. Lewis, Berbera: E1<sup>2</sup> I, 1172–1173).
- 694 A seaport in the province of Sind, west of the mouth of the Indus (Baznee Ansari, Daybul: E1<sup>2</sup> II, 188–189).
- 695 This city is not located on the coast, but it was one of the most important cities of Sind (Y. Friedmann, Multan: E1<sup>2</sup> VII, 548–549).
- 696 The mountain Ṣanf is identified with Champa, between Cambodia and Vietnam (P.L. Lamant, Ṣanf: E1<sup>2</sup> IX, 17–18).
- 697 Both terms *maghribī* and *dabūrī* have the same meaning, i.e. ‘Western.’
- 698 The Canary Islands. In addition to the term *jazā’ir al-sa’āda* ‘the Fortunate Islands’ *jazā’ir khālīdāt* ‘The Eterneal Islands’ is also used, which is the Arabic translation of the Greek name (D.M. Dunlop, al *Djazā’ir-al-Khālīda*: E1<sup>2</sup> II, 522).
- 699 Southern Morocco: E. Levi-Provencal-CI. Lefebure, Al-Sūs al-Aḳṣā: E1<sup>2</sup> IX, 899–902.
- 700 The steppe south of the lower course of Araxes: V. Minorsky, Mūḳān: E1<sup>2</sup>, VII, 497–500.
- 701 According to Lewicki, instead of *khalij al-Khazar* ‘Gulf of the Khazars,’ the original text contained *khamlij al-Khazar*, the name of the Khazar capital, which was well-known in Muslim geographical literature. In that case the sentence is understandable: the author describes the distance between the Sea of Jurjan i.e. the Caspian Sea, and the Khazar capital on the lower reaches of the Volga (Lewicki 1969 II 53/1, Note 40).
- 702 The interpretation of the first half of the term *al-Dawwāra al-Khurāsānī* is not clear. According to Lewicki the country might have the same length and width, or it was round without corners. In any case, the province of Khurāsān bordered on the coast of the Caspian Sea (Lewicki 1969 II/1, 54, note 42).

parasangs, and if someone wanted to walk around it, it would cover a distance of one thousand five hundred parasangs.

The fourth (sea) between Rūmiyya and Khwārazm (and in it there is) an island called Tūliyya.<sup>703</sup> No ships operate on him at all.<sup>704</sup>

The description of Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadhānī is not compatible with the system of the Balkhī tradition. Namely, the “Great Sea” comes from the West, perhaps Morocco, and in that case it bypasses Africa, reaching as far as the Red Sea at Suez, and then it passes from there along the western coast of the Arabian Peninsula and along the coast of India to reach China. The second sea is the Mediterranean Sea (*Baḥr al-Rūm*), which passes beyond Gibraltar and extends to the Canary Islands. The ocean, i.e. the Encircling Sea, is omitted completely in this description however, it is partly covered by some parts of the first two seas and somewhere in the North partly by the fourth sea. Since the edges of the northern hemisphere involving the fourth sea were rather isolated from the Muslim world, accounts of it were legendary and obscure. Kmoskó pointed out that Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadhānī regarded the Caspian Sea as an independent sea, raising the number of the seas to four.<sup>705</sup>

Ibn Rusta must have copied al-Jayhānī’s chapter on the seas,<sup>706</sup> as mentioned in the introduction. He recorded:

The characterization of the seas. The number of known seas of the inhabited earth is five: 1. The Sea of India, Persia and China, 2. The Sea of Rūm, Africa and Syria, 3. The Ocean, that is the Sea of Maghrib (the West), 4. The Sea of Bunṭus (Pontus = Black Sea), 5. The Sea of Ṭabaristān and Jurjān (Caspian Sea).

703 *Tūliya* is identified with the island of Thule by Ptolemy, which lay at the northern edge of the inhabited earth. Muslim authors located that island far to the north. The identification of the fourth sea is difficult because Muslim authors had no clear picture of the geography of the northern regions. The Sea of Azov, the North Sea or the Baltic Sea may be considered (Miquel 1975, 495–497).

704 BGA V, 7–8; Kmoskó I/1, 138–139; Lewicki has published the section on the third and fourth sea, translated into Polish and provided with extensive comments Lewicki (1969 II/1, 20–21, 51–56).

705 Kmoskó I/1, 138, note 470.

706 Kmoskó has pointed out that a parallel text is to be found in the work of Qudāma on taxation (Book VI, Chapter 3: BGA VI, 230). Al-Maqdisī (Huart IV, 54) copied from the same source (Kmoskó I/1, 175, note 664; Minorsky 1939, 179–181).

As for the Indian Ocean, its length extends from west to east, and from the end of Abyssinia to the end of India it is about eight thousand miles by seven hundred miles. It extends a distance of one thousand nine hundred miles beyond the Island of the Equinox, and a gulf called the Barbar Gulf (Gulf of Aden) comes from it by the land of Abyssinia and it leads to the region of al-Barbar (Berbera); its length is about five hundred miles and its width is a hundred miles. Another gulf (the Red Sea) comes from it towards Ayla;<sup>707</sup> its length is one thousand four hundred miles and its width is seven hundred miles at the start, and two hundred miles at the end on its lower side, which is called the 'last sea.' A gulf called the Persian Gulf comes from it heading toward the region of Fārs; its length is one thousand four hundred miles, and its width at the start of five hundred miles, and its length one hundred fifty miles. The land of Hijaz, Yemen and other areas of the Arabs are between these two gulfs, namely the Gulf of Ayla and the Persian Gulf, in a width of one thousand five hundred miles. Another gulf comes from it by the outermost regions of India, where it ends, called the Green Gulf, and its length is one thousand five hundred miles. There are one thousand three hundred and seventy inhabited and uninhabited islands in the Indian Ocean; there is a huge island among them at the end of India, opposite the land of India, belonging to the territory of the East, which is called Ṭabrūbānī<sup>708</sup> (Taprobane, Ceylon); its circumference is three thousand miles, there are big mountains and many rivers on it, and the red-colored ruby and azure gemstone are exported from there. There are nineteen inhabited islands around this island, and there are numerous towns and villages on them.

The length of the Sea of Rūm, Africa and Egypt is approximately five thousand miles from the gulf (Gibraltar) which leaves for the Sea of the West (Atlantic Ocean) toward the East reaching Ṣūr (Tyre) and Ṣaydān (Sydon), and its breadth is partly six hundred, partly eight hundred miles. A gulf comes from it toward the north in the vicinity of Roma; its length is five hundred miles, and it is called Adhriyas (Adriatic Sea). Another

707 Ayla (Eilat) is the name of a city located at the northern end of the Bay of Aqaba (H.W. Glidden, *Ayla*: *EF*<sup>2</sup> 1, 783).

708 In the manuscript *Ṭirūrāy*; Qudāma: *Sarāndīb*, the Arabic name of Ceylon, while Taprobane already occurs in the Greek authors, and is a sign that the author of this description also used the work of Ptolemy, or other works of antique writers. (Kmoskó 1/1, 176, note 668)

gulf comes from it toward the land of Narbūna (Narbonne), its length is two hundred miles. There are one hundred sixty-two inhabited islands in this sea. There are five larger islands among them. The smallest of them is Qūrnus (Corsica),<sup>709</sup> its circumference is two hundred miles; the circumference of Sardinia is three hundred miles, that of Sicily is hundred fifty, that of Crete is three hundred, and that of Cyprus is three hundred miles.

The Ocean (*baḥr ūqiyānūs*), that is the Sea of the West (*Maghrib*), the Green Sea (the Atlantic Ocean). It is known only that it follows the west and north from the end of the land of Abyssinia to Barṭīniyya (Britain). There is no boat traffic on this sea. There are six islands opposite the land of Abyssinia, these are called 'The Eternal Islands' (*jazā'ir khālidāt*, Hesperides). There is another island called Ghadīra<sup>710</sup> opposite Andalus on the strait (the Strait of Gibraltar). The strait comes from the Sea of West, its width is seven miles, being between Andalus and Ṭanja (Tangier) called Sabta (Ceuta) and flows into the Sea of Rūm. There are twelve islands, called Barṭīniyya (Britain), toward the north. Then it moves beyond the cultures to the point that nothing is known about it.

The Sea of Bunṭus (Pontus = Black Sea) extends from Lāziqa<sup>711</sup> to Constantinople. Its length is about thirteen hundred, its width is three hundred miles. The river called Ṭānīs (Tanais = Don) flows into it, which comes from the northern direction, from the lake called Māwuṭīsh (Maeotis = Sea of Azov), and it is actually a mighty sea, although it is called lake. Its length is three hundred miles from the west to the east, its width is one hundred miles. A strait comes from it (Pontus = Black Sea) by Constantinople flowing like a river, and it flows into the Egyptian Sea; its width is about three miles by Constantinople, and Constantinople was built on its bank.

The length of the Sea of Ṭabaristān and Jurjān, that is, the Sea of al-Bāb (Caspian Sea), is one thousand eight hundred miles from the west to the east, its breadth six hundred miles. There are two islands in it near to Ṭabaristān; earlier both were inhabited.<sup>712</sup>

709 Cynrus among the Greeks, that is, Corsica (Miquel 1975, 378).

710 *Γαδειρα*, Gades, today Cadiz.

711 The Greek *Lasike* is the name of the eastern coastal area of the Black Sea (Obolensky, 1971, 33).

712 BGA VII, 83–86, Wiet 1955, 92–94; Kmoskó 1/1, 175–177.

Ibn Rusta, following al-Jayhānī, recorded the passage concerning five seas. Contrary to al-Muqaddasī, who reckoned the fifth sea the Strait of Constantinople, connecting the Ocean with the Sea of Rūm as portrayed in the works of the Balkhī tradition, Ibn Rusta mentioned the Pontus i.e. the Black Sea, as a separate sea. It is striking, however, that such geographic names as Pontus, Maeotis, and Tanais used in connection with the fifth sea are Greek loanwords, indicating that the region was known primarily from the Greek geographical literature.

Al-Masʿūdī must have known a variant of this description, as his account is a more detailed and supplemented version of the text recorded by Ibn Rusta. As we have seen in the section quoted above, al-Masʿūdī counted six seas. The source of the difference is clear: al-Masʿūdī regarded the Maeotis, i.e. the Sea of Azov, as a separate sea, whereas Ibn Rusta treated it as a lake, not a sea, though he noted that in size it may be classified as a sea. Al-Masʿūdī wrote about the seas in a separate chapter in both surviving works. I quote the sections on the Black and the Azov Seas; entries matching Ibn Rusta's are in italics. The 13th chapter of *Murūj* concerns these seas:

Report on the Black Sea (Bunṭus = Pontus) and the Sea of Azov (Māyūṭis = Maeotis), and the Strait of Constantinople. *The Black Sea (Bunṭus) extends from the land of Lādhiqa to Constantinople. It is 100 miles long and 300 miles wide at the start. The river called Ṭanāyīs (Tanais = Don) flows into it, which we have already mentioned. This river comes from the north, many descendants of Noah's son Japheth (Jāfith ibn Nuh) live on its shore. It flows from a lake in the north which is fed by springs and (waters from) the mountains. The river is about 300 parasangs long and passes the cultivated lands of the descendants of Japheth. Then it crosses the Sea of Azov (Māyūṭis), according to well-informed persons, until it flows into the Black Sea (Bunṭus). The sea is very large, and there are various minerals, herbs and remedies. Many of the ancient philosophers mentioned it. Some people describe the Sea of Azov (Māyūṭis) as a lake with a length of 300 miles and a width of 100 miles. The Strait of Constantinople comes from it (Black Sea) and it flows into the Mediterranean Sea (the Sea of Rūm). It is about 300 miles long and circa 50 miles wide. Constantinople and there are cultivated lands on its bank from its beginning to its end. Constantinople lies on the west bank, the land of Rome (Rūmiya) and Andalusia and the other Western countries adjoin (belong to) this strait. According to the astronomers, who wrote astronomical almanacs, and other early scholars, the sea of the Bulghar (Burghar), the Rūs, Bajanā, Pechenegs (Bajanāk) and Magyars (Bajghird), which are three Turkish peoples, is identical with the Black Sea (Bunṭus). I will talk about these peoples later in this*

book, God willing. I will then talk about their continuous settlements and describe which of them travel on this sea and those who do not. God knows it all better! There is no power but from God.<sup>713</sup>

Al-Mas‘ūdī mentioned four seas and the ocean in his last work (*Tanbih*). He wrote about the Black Sea:

Report on the fourth sea, that is, *Bunṭus* (Pontus). *The fourth is the sea Bunṭus (of Pontus), it is also the sea of the Burghar, the Rūs and other peoples, and it extends from north of the region of the town called Lāziqa beyond Constantinople. Its length is one thousand three hundred miles, its width is three hundred miles, it is connected with the lake of Māyūṭis (Maeotis), whose length is three hundred miles and whose width is one hundred miles.* The (latter) is on the edge of the inhabited world in the north, and a part of it extends under the North Pole; there is a town called Tūliya (Thule) in its vicinity, beyond which there is no inhabited land. *The Strait of Constantinople comes from it (the sea), which flows into the Sea of Rūm.* Its length is three hundred miles and its width is about fifty miles, as we will write in this book concerning it. The course of its water is visible in tight spaces; its water is cold. Some regard this sea (the Pontus, the Black Sea) and this lake (the Maeotis, that is, the Sea of Azov) as one single sea. The sea is connected with the Sea of Bāb wa-l-Abwāb on one side by a channel and great rivers. Therefore, the authors of the books dealing with the oceans and the inhabited parts of the earth make a mistake when they claim that the Sea of *Bunṭus* (Pontus), the lake *Māyūṭis* (Maeotis) and the Sea of the *Khazar* were the same (forming one sea).

The great river among the famous mighty rivers that flow into this sea, is called Ṭanāyis, which originates in the north. There are a lot of settlements of the Slavs (Ṣaḡāliba), and other peoples deeply penetrating into the north lie on it(s banks); there are also other great rivers such as Danubah<sup>714</sup> and Malāwah,<sup>715</sup> which is also its Slavic name. That is a

713 *Murūj* 1, 260–262; II<sup>2</sup>, 140–141; Rotter 1978, 53–54; Kmoskó 1/2, 153–154; Pellat 1962, 107–108; see Marquart 1903, 162, 335, note 4.

714 *Dnbh*: the reading is *Danubah*, which can be identified with the river Danube (cf. Latin *Danubius*). In the Paris manuscript: *Rynah*. The interpretation of the Danube will be the subject of a later paragraph in connection with the border rivers of the Hungarians.

715 *Blāwah* in the Paris manuscript. De Goeje noted that it could be explained by a variant of the form *Mrawah* (Morava). This river flows east of Belgrade into the Danube from the south (Miquel 1975, 311, note 11, 315).



mighty river which is about three miles wide, and it is several days' journey behind Constantinople; the lands of Nāmjīn<sup>716</sup> and Murāwa belong to the Ṣaqaḷiba are on this river, and many of the Burghar (Danube Bulgars) settled on it when they converted to Christianity. It is said that the river of the Turks, that is the aforementioned river of al-Shāsh,<sup>717</sup> comes from it (the sea).<sup>718</sup>

Comparing the descriptions of al-Mas'ūdī and Ibn Rusta, it is apparent that the basic data were borrowed from Greek literature and supplemented by new details from the reports of Muslim travelers and merchants; al-Mas'ūdī recorded new terms in addition to the Greek names: The Black Sea is called *Baḥr Buntus*, reflecting the Greek name, but gives other names, such as the Sea of the Danube Bulgars, Pechenegs, Bajghird (Magyars) and the Rūs, which is obviously a consequence of the historical role of these people living on the northern shores of the Black Sea. The river Tanais can be found in the works of the classical Greek authors, where it denotes the Don; however, its identification is much more vague in the Muslim literature, which it can refer to either the Dnieper or the Don. In addition, al-Mas'ūdī gave an account on the Danube that will be discussed in detail later. In any case, a significant increase in the knowledge of the regions around the Black Sea can be demonstrated in the first half of the 10th century.

716 *Bāmjin* in the Paris manuscript: see *Murūj* III, 63; II<sup>2</sup>, 142; Kmoskó 1/2, 199. According to de Goeje the name designated the Germans (BGA VIII, 67, note s). It may reflect the Slavic *Nemec*, *Nemci* denoting the Germans, which was borrowed as *német* into Hungarian as well (Kowalski 1946, 121, note 157; Miquel 1974, 314, note 5). According to Lewicki it is the Slavic name of the southern Germans, i.e. Bavarians (Lewicki, 1974, 48–49).

717 There are difficulties in the interpretation of this passage, because the author has previously claimed that the river Turk flows into the river al-Shāsh, which flows finally into the lake of Khwārazm (Aral Sea). The Arabic al-Shāsh can be identified with Tashkent, and the river with the same name is the Syr Darya, which is near it. However, the city lies on the river Chirchik, which is called Barak (= Persian Parak) in the Muslim geographical literature (W. Barthold, C.E. Bosworth, C. Poujol, Tashkent: EI<sup>2</sup>, x 348). The Arabic script form of the river name is easily confused with the common names Turk (ترك ~ ترك), as the difference is only in the diacritical points of the first consonant. This confusion could be motivated by the fact that Tashkent was one of the most important border areas against the Turks. On the other hand, the author may have referred to the Magyars under the name *Turk*. Al-Mas'ūdī noted in his *Tanbih* that the river Dunabī is identical with the Jayhūn (BGA VIII, 183–184; Kmoskó 1/2, 220).

718 BGA VIII, 66–67; Kmoskó 1/2, 207; see Marquart 1903, 115.

However, al-Mas'ūdī noticed also that there are contradictory statements in the Muslim geographical literature regarding the Maeotis = Sea of Azov, the Pontus = Black Sea, the Khazar Sea (Caspian Sea) and the Sea of Rūm (Mediterranean). He wrote about them in his famous work entitled *Murūj*:

The sea of Bunṭus (Pontus) is connected with the sea of Māyūṭis (Maeotis), and the Strait of Constantinople comes from it (Pontus), which flows into the Sea of Rūm and it (Pontus) is connected with it (Mediterranean Sea), as we have already mentioned. The (Sea) of Rūmī comes from the Green Ocean (*baḥr ūqīyānūs al-'akhḍar*). Building on this analogy they must be considered as one sea according to our description, because their waters are (inter)connected. However, its water is not connected with the sea of the Ḥabash Sea (Abyssinia, Indian Ocean) by any means—but God knows best. The Sea of Bunṭus (Black Sea) and the sea of Māyūṭis (Sea of Azov) should be considered also as one sea, although the land narrows the field at some points between the two (seas), as it would form a strait between the two seas. It is called Māyūṭis (Sea of Azov), not because it is wider and richer in water, and it is called as Bunṭus (Black Sea), not because it is narrower and has less water. The names Māyūṭis (Sea of Azov) and Bunṭus (Black Sea) cannot be unified (in one name). If we designate them in the other parts of this book as Māyūṭis (Sea of Azov) and Bunṭus (Black Sea), we mean a larger sea and a smaller (sea consequently).

Al-Mas'ūdī said: Some people have mistakenly claimed that the sea of the Khazar (Caspian Sea) is connected with the sea of Māyūṭis (Sea of Azov). I did not see a person from among the merchants having entered the country of the Khazars, or having sailed on the sea Māyūṭis (Sea of Azov) and Bunṭus (Black Sea) to the land of Rūs and Bulghar (Burghar), who would claim that the Sea of the Khazar is connected with one of these seas by waters (rivers) or straits with exception of the river of the Khazar. We shall mention it when we treat the mountain Qabq (Caucasus), the city of al-Bāb wa-l-Abwāb and the Kingdom of the Khazars, and how the Rūs penetrated into the sea of the Khazar on ships, which happened after 300 A.H. (912 AD). I have read in the books of ancient and contemporary authors, who presented in the description of the seas the claim that the Strait of Constantinople comes from the Māyūṭis and is connected with the Sea of the Khazar. I do not understand how it is possible to come to this idea, whether by way of their own experiences or by deduction or analogy, or that they believed that the Rūs and their neighbours on the shore of this sea are identical with the Khazars. I traveled on it from Ābaskūn—that

is, the coast of Jurjān—to the land of Ṭabaristān and to other places, and I have asked all those with whom I personally acquainted about it: either merchants with literacy and understanding or others such as ship masters. They all told me that there was no way (by water) to the Sea of the Khazar, except the one by which the ships of the Rūs penetrated into it. The people of Azerbaijan, Arrān, Baylaqān and the land of Bardhaʿa and others and the inhabitants of Daylam, Jil, Jurjān and Ṭabaristān mobilized against them, because they had not seen an enemy on it (the sea) in the past that fell on them, and this had not been recorded previously from time immemorial. What we have described, however, is well known in these aforementioned cities, peoples and countries, without having to deny it due to its publicity among them. It happened in the days of Ibn Abī-l-Sāj.<sup>719</sup>

Al-Masʿūdī gave a precise description of the Bosphorus between the Mediterranean, i.e. the Sea of Rūm, and the Black Sea, and it is valid for the Kerch Strait separating the Black Sea from the Sea of Azov, and his attached comments are reliable. As for the connection between the Maeotis and the Khazar Sea, this caused the author severe headache. The channel or strait of Constantinople can be identified with a water system connecting the Mediterranean and the Baltic Sea as part of the Encircling Ocean on the maps of al-Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥawqal, which are representative of the Balkhī tradition. The central area is the Valdai Hills, as it is the source of rivers flowing into the Black Sea (the Dnieper), the Caspian Sea (the Volga), and the Baltic Sea. Another possibility to connect the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov with the Caspian Sea is the route via the lower Don to the nearest point to the Volga, whereupon the route is on land to the Volga. Presumably al-Masʿūdī studied a map with a conception similar to that of the Balkhī tradition. In any case, in the chapter on the Khazars he repeated twice that the connection is possible: “Ātil (Āmul<sup>720</sup>), where the Khazar king resides nowadays, consists of three parts divided by a huge river which comes from the upper parts of the land of the Turks. One branch of it branches off in the direction of the Bulgar (Burghaz/r) country and flows into the Sea of

719 *Murūj* I, 272–275; II<sup>2</sup>, 146–148; Kmoskó I/2, 154–155; Pellat 1962, 112–113; cf. Marquart 1903, 334–335; Muḥammad Ibn Abī-l-Sāj was governor of Ādharbayjān from 892 until his death in 901 (H.A.R. Gibb, Muḥammad b Abī-l-Sādī. EI<sup>2</sup> VII, 395).

720 The form Āmul is a typical motivated erratum for Ātil (امل ~ اتل); Amul is a town on the shore of the Caspian Sea, whereas Ātil was the name of the Khazar capital on the lower Volga mentioned in other sources.

Azov (Māyūṭīs).<sup>721</sup> As for the Khazar River, i.e. the Volga, it is recorded: “In the upper part of the Khazar River (Volga) there is an estuary (*maṣabb* canal?) disembouching into a gulf of the Black Sea (Bunṭus)—which is the Sea of the Rūs and is navigated only by them, and they (the Rūs) are established on one of its coasts.”<sup>722</sup> The first passage seems to refer the Volga-Don water way while the second to the Volga-Valdai-Dnieper route. The name Sea of Rūs means the Pontus, i.e. Black Sea, since Rūs ships appeared there in great number in the first half of the 10th century, but their settlement on the north coast of the Black Sea is out of question.

Al-Mas‘ūdī proved the connection between the two seas with the help of the description of the Rūs’ campaign against the southern coast of the Caspian Sea in 913. The Rūs attack was only possible if there was a waterway between the Maeotis and the Khazar Sea. The detailed report is found in the chapter on the Caucasus:

(Some time) after 300 A.H. (912/13 AD) some 500 ships, each carrying 100 men, arrived at the straits of the Bunṭus (Pontus) joint with the Khazar River (Volga, *nahr al-Khazar*) and here there are men of the Khazar king, strong and well supplied with equipment. (Their task is) to oppose anyone coming from this sea or from that side of the land, the parts of which stretch from the Khazar river (*nahr al-Khazar*) down to the Sea of Bunṭus. This is in view of the fact that the nomad Oguz-Turks (*Ghuzz*) come to winter in this tract of land. Sometimes the branch which joins the Khazar River (Volga, *nahr al-Khazar*) to the gulf of the Pontus (*Bunṭus*) becomes frozen and the Oguz with their horses cross it. This is a large stream (Don) but (the ice) does not collapse under them because it is as hard as stone. Consequently the Oguz pass over to the Khazar country and on several occasions, when the men posted here to repel the Oguz were unable to hold them in place, the Khazar king had to sally forth to prevent them from passing over the ice and to repel them from his territory. In summer, however, the Turks cannot pass.

When the ships of the Rūs reached the Khazar troops posted at the entrance to the straits (Kerch?), they sent an envoy to the king of the Khazars (asking permission) to pass through his country, sail down his river, enter the river (canal?) of the Khazar (capital) and so reach the

721 *Murūj* 11, 7–8; 11<sup>2</sup>, 212; Minorsky 1958, 146; Rotter 1978, 86; Kmoskó 1/2, 170; Pellat 1962, 161; cf. Marquart 1903, 152–153.

722 *Murūj* 11, 15; 11<sup>2</sup>, 216; Minorsky 1958, 149; Rotter 1978, 89–90; Kmoskó 1/2, 173; Pellat 1962, 164; cf. Marquart 1903, 149.

Khazar Sea (Caspian Sea), which, as has been mentioned before, is the sea of Jurjān, Ṭabaristān and other Iranian (provinces)—on condition that they should give him half of the booty captured from the nations living by that sea. He allowed them to do so and they penetrated into the straits, reached the estuary of the river (Don), and began to ascend that branch until they came to the Khazar river (Volga) by which they descended to the town of Ätil (Āmul). They sailed past it, reached the estuary where the river flows out into the Khazar Sea (Caspian Sea) and thence (sailed) to the town of Āmol (in Ṭabaristān).<sup>723</sup> This (Volga) is a large stream carrying much water.<sup>724</sup>

Marquart reconstructed their route on the basis of the description of the Rūs campaign. The ships of the Rūs had to sail down the Dnieper as far as the Black Sea, then having reached the coast the fleet followed the seashore around the Crimea and penetrated via the Kerch Strait into the Sea of Azov. After having arrived at the estuary of the Don, they headed upstream until they reached the junction between the Don and the Volga. Here they had to drag their boats overland to the Volga, a path that may have followed the route of the modern Volga-Don Canal. Then they continued their journey downstream on the Volga River as far as the Caspian Sea. The trip on the Don and the land route between the Don and Volga was possible only with the permission of the Khazar Khagan.<sup>725</sup> The campaign is dated to 913. The Rūs pirates devastated the Muslim provinces of the southern Caspian Sea and returned with rich booty, but the Muslim guards of Khazar Khagan attacked the returning Rūs and defeated them; the survivors fled on the Volga River to the north and were dispersed by the Burtas and Volga Bulgars on the Volga. The description of the route gives the impression that the ships of the Rūs between the Maeotis and the Khazar Sea could have followed a continuous route by water; however, there was no direct connection between the Don and the Volga.

In any case, al-Masʿūdī returned to the subject at the end of the story: “We have reported this account to refute the thesis of those who argue that the Khazar Sea joins the Maeotis (Azov Sea, *Māyutīs*) and the Strait of Constantinople (directly) on the side of the Maeotis and the Pontus (*Māyutīs*, *Buntus*). Were it so, the Rūs would have found an outlet because (the Pontus) is their sea, as already mentioned. Among the nations bordering on that (?Caspian) sea there

723 Pellat and Rotter translated: “From (the city) Ätil to the estuary of the river (Volga) it is ...”

724 328 *Murūj* II, 18–20; II<sup>2</sup>, 218–219; Minorsky 1958, 150–151; Rotter 1978, 91–92; Kmoskó 1/2, 174–175; Pellat 1962, 165–166; cf. Marquart 1903, 330–331.

725 Marquart, 1903, 335–336; Zimonyi 1990, 111–112.

is no divergence of opinion concerning the fact that this sea of the Iranians (*a'ājim*) has no strait (*khalīj*) for communication with any other sea. It is a small sea and is completely known. The report on (the expedition) of the Rūs ships is widespread in those countries and is known to the various nations. The year is also known: (the expedition took place) after 300/912 but the (exact) date has escaped my memory. It may be that who said that the Khazar (Caspian) Sea communicates with the straits of Constantinople assumed that the Khazar (Caspian) Sea was the same as the Maeotis (Sea of Azov) and the Pontus (Black Sea), which latter is the sea of the (Danubian) Burghar and Rūs, but God knows best how it is.<sup>726</sup> Al-Mas'ūdī could not resolve the contradiction of how the ships of the Rūs might have sailed between the two seas if there were no direct waterway between the two seas. The author might have had vague information about the details of the long route, among which there might have been no clear reference to the transportation of the ships from the Don to the Volga by land.

However, al-Mas'ūdī raised another question, that of whether the Khazar Sea is identical with the Maeotis or the Pontus. This is of crucial importance, because al-Mas'ūdī cited Jarmī's description of Byzantium in his last work *al-Tanbīh*, where he listed the main administrative units, the themes. The Black Sea is mentioned several times:

The sixth theme is the theme of al-Buqallār (θέμα Βουκελλαρίων), the theme is the province of Anqira (Ἄγκυρα). The beginning of the province of Anqira is the River of Ālis, it is also the rear part of the province of al-Qabāduq (θέμα Καππαδοκίας). The rear part of the province of al-Buqallār is the sea of the Khazars (Khazar), which is the Māyūṭis (Sea of Azov). These two themes extend from the realm of Islam to the sea of Khazar in a length of about four hundred forty-five miles. The Romans have no longer theme than the theme of al-Buqallār or one larger in population ...

The eighth theme is the theme of al-Arminiyaq (θέμα Ἀρμενιῶν), lying on the right of al-Buqallār. The theme is the province of Māsiyya (Μάσεια). The province of Kharshana (Χαρσιανόν) is at the edge of this theme, behind it is the sea Māyūṭis (Sea of Azov), which is called the Khazar sea (Caspian Sea) by several people, even though it is only connected with it, for it is the Khazar Sea on the coast of which lie the settlements of the Iranians (*a'ājim*), such as (the inhabitants of) al-Bāb wa-l-

726 *Murūj* 11, 20–25; 11<sup>2</sup>, 221; Minorsky 1958, 153; Rotter 1978, 93–94; Kmoskó 1/2, 176–177; Pellat 1962, 167; see Marquart 1903, 333–334.

Abwāb, Mūqān, al-Jīl, al-Daylam, Ābaskūn, i.e. the coastal region of Jurjān, and Āmul, the coastal area of the capital of Ṭabaristān, as we described in an earlier passage of this book about the seas, and its characteristics and the great rivers flowing into it ...

The ninth theme is the theme of al-Falāghūniyya (θέμα Παφλαγονίας), which is on the right of al-Arminiyyāq. The province Qulūniyya (Κολώνεια) is to its side. These nine themes are on the side of the strait (of Constantinople), which are in the neighborhood of Syria and northern Mesopotamia and other lands of Islam. The remaining five themes are behind the strait, on the shore of which is Constantinople. These are: 1. The theme of Ṭāblā (Tafrai, Tafros, Τάφραι, Τάφρος 'trench, ditch'),<sup>727</sup> Constantinople belongs to it. Its frontier on the east is the strait extending from the sea of Khazar to the Syrian Sea, on the south is the Syrian sea, and on the west is the wall which runs from the Syrian Sea to Sea of Khazar. It is called *maqrūn taykhus* (μακρὸν τεῖχος), which means "Long Wall." Its length is four days' journey, and it is two days' distance between it and Constantinople.<sup>728</sup>

Consequently, al-Jarmī designated the Black Sea the Khazar Sea. This is proved by parallel passages in works of Ibn Khurdādhbih and al-Qudāma.

The text of Ibn Khurdādhbih contains further data about the Khazar Sea:

The Strait of Constantinople is the sea known as Bunṭus (Pontus) coming from the Khazar Sea. Its width is six miles at its mouth, there is a fortress called Musannāt at its entrance, the strait has a westward orientation, (its water) flows continuously past Constantinople sixty miles from the entrance ... (The strait) is four miles wide by this fortress. When it reaches the place called Abydos (Ἄβυδος), it is situated between two mountains and it narrows so that its length is an arrow shot. The distance is one hundred miles between Abydos and Constantinople in flat area. Abydos was the spring of Maslama ibn 'Abd al-Malik, when he besieged Constantinople. The strait proceeds flowing into the Syrian Sea. Its width is also an arrow shoot at the estuary, a person from its bank can talk to another on the other bank. There is a rock on which is a castle, there is a chain in it, which prevents the ships of the Muslims from entering the strait. The length of the entire strait is three hundred and twenty miles

727 Minorsky 1937, 421.

728 BGA VIII, 178–182; Kmoskó I/2, 216–217.

from the Khazar Sea to the Syrian Sea. Ships sail down it from the islands of the Khazar Sea and those lands, while ships come up it from the Syrian Sea to Constantinople.

Muslim ibn Abī Muslim al-Jarmī mentioned that the number of provinces of Rūm, which the king ruled by governors, amounts to fourteen. Three of them are behind the strait. The first of them is Ṭāflā, it is the province of Constantinople. Their boundaries are: the strait to the Syrian Sea in the east; the wall in the west which was built from the Khazar Sea up to the Syrian Sea, its length is four days' journey, it is two days' journey from Constantinople; the Syrian Sea is in the south; the Khazar Sea is in the north.

The second theme is behind the first, that is the theme Tarāqiyya (Thrace, θέμα Θράκης). Its boundaries are: the wall in the east; the theme Maqadūniyya (Macedonia, θέμα Μακεδονίας) in the south; the country Burjān (Danube Bulgars) in the west and the Khazar Sea in the north. Its length is fifteen days' journey, its breadth is three days' journey. There are ten fortresses in it.<sup>729</sup>

The details of al-Qudāma partly agree with and partly complement the text of al-Jarmī preserved by the previous two authors:

As for the other themes, there are fourteen of them. Three of them, which we mentioned before, are behind the strait that crosses the land of Rūm and flows into the Syriac (Sea). One of them is Ṭāylā (Trench), it is the province in which Constantinople is located. Their boundaries are: the above-mentioned strait in the east, the Syrian Sea in the south, the Khazar Sea in the north, and the wall in the west, which stretches from the Syrian Sea to the Khazar Sea; its length is four days' journey. It is two days' journey from Constantinople. The neighboring province is known as the Tarāqiyya. Their boundaries are: the above-mentioned wall in the east, the province Maqadūniyya in the south, the country Burjān in the west, the Khazar Sea in the north. Its length is eleven days, its width is three days from the Khazar Sea to the province of Maqadūniyya. Its governor is called Iṣṭraṭīqūs (στρατηγός), his army has five thousand men.

There are eleven provinces on this side of the strait. One of them is the province Aflāghūniyya (θέμα Παφλαγονίας); their army has ten thousand men. Then the province of al-Obṭibāt (Obṭimāt, θέμα Ὀπιτιμάτων)

729 BGA VI, 103–105; Kmoskó I/1, 110–111.





FIGURE 7 *Administrative organisation of Byzantine Empire themes in the later 9th century*  
 MAP BY RICHÁRD SZÁNTÓ, ADAPTED FROM A. DUCELLIER, 1990, P. 280

is in its neighborhood toward the west. This word means ‘the ear and the eye,’ in Arabic, because the province is the center of the country of Rūm. Their commander is not a general, since neither the raids of the Muslims nor others can reach them. Its western border is the Strait, the northern border is the Khazar Sea, the eastern boundary is Aflāghūniyya, the southern border is the province of al-Obsīq (Ὀψίκιον). Its army consists of four thousand men ... The province Armaniyaq (θέμα Ἀρμενιᾶκῶν): one of its borders is next to al-Aflāghūniyya, the second is the province of al-Buqallār (θέμα Βουκελλᾶριων), the third is the province of Kharshana (θέματος Χαρσιανού), the fourth is the province of al-Khāldiyya (θέμα Χαλδίας) and the Khazar Sea. Its army is of four thousand men. Then, there is the province of al-Khāldiyya: one of its borders is the land of Armenia, the second is the Khazar Sea, the third and the fourth are the province Armaniyaq. Its army is of four thousand men.<sup>730</sup>

The description given by al-Jarmī of the Khazar Sea that survived in the slightly different versions of the three authors agrees exactly with the data on the themes given in Byzantine sources in the 10th century. The Byzantine themes bordering the Black Sea are Thrace, Optimaton, Bukkelarion, Paphlagonia,

730 BGA VI, 257–258; Kmoskó 1/1, 164–165.

Armeniakon and Khaldeia.<sup>731</sup> Ibn Khurdādhbih preserved a detailed account of the Strait of Constantinople, which included the Bosphorus (30 kilometers), the Propontis (the Sea of Marmara, 280 kilometers) and the Hellespont (Dardanelles, 120 kilometers), but he identified the strait with the Pontos, which was the Greek name of the Black Sea. Kmoskó noted that the term *khalīj* ‘bay, canal, strait’ may have reflected the Propontis in the passage of al-Jarmī.<sup>732</sup> The geographical picture can be reconstructed from the context: the Black Sea is called the Khazar Sea, the Syrian Sea is the name of the Mediterranean Sea, including the Aegean Sea, the Strait of Constantinople refers to the Propontis, i.e. the Sea of Marmara, which is identified with the Pontus by al-Jarmī. This is misleading, however, because the Black Sea was called the Pontus in Byzantium. To complicate the matter further, al-Mas‘ūdī identified the Khazar Sea with the Maeotis (the Sea of Azov) and not the Pontus in his notes, which provides a reasonable explanation for al-Jarmī’s views, in this order: the Khazar Sea is the Sea of Azov, the Pontus is the Black Sea.

There is another passage in the works al-Mas‘ūdī describing the Caucasus that deals with the people called Kashak, i.e. the Circassians, living on the coast of the Sea of Rūm: “There follows on the Alans (Allān) a nation called Kashak (Circassians), which lives between the Caucasus Mountains (Qabkh) and the Sea of Rūm. This is a cleanly people following the Magian religion.<sup>733</sup> ... The Alans (Allān) are more powerful than this nation (Circassians), which could not cope with the Alans (Allān), were it not for the protection of the forts on the sea-coast. There are disputes about the sea by which they live: some people opine that this is the Sea of Rūm and others that it is the Bunṭus (Pontus). The fact is that by sea they are near to Trebizond (Ṭarābzunda): from it goods reach them in ships and they on their part also equip (ships).”<sup>734</sup> This is a clear reference to the fact that some Muslim authors applied the term “Sea of Rūm” to the Black Sea, and al-Mas‘ūdī copied this passage from a source whose author accepted this usage, perhaps among others the source of al-Jayhānī.

Studying the development of the Muslim geographic picture of the seas, it seems clear that Ibn Rusta’s afore-mentioned description reflects al-Jayhānī’s lost account, which distinguished the Mediterranean Sea (*Baḥr al-Rūm*) and the Black Sea (*Baḥr Bunṭus*). The relevant section on the Magyar capital must

731 Ducellier 1990, 282–287. Cf. Minorsky 1938, 420–421.

732 Kmoskó 1/1, 110, note 271.

733 *Murūj* II, 45; 11<sup>2</sup>, 230; Minorsky 1958, 157, note 4; Rotter 1978, 99; Kmoskó 1/2, 180; Pellat 1962, 174.

734 *Murūj* II, 46–47; 11<sup>2</sup>, 230–231; Minorsky 1958, 157–158; Rotter 1978, 100; Kmoskó 1/2, 180; Marquart 1903, 161; Pellat 1962, I, 174.

have borrowed from a source which al-Jayhānī did not improve upon with the knowledge of his contemporaries. Ibn Khurdādhbih's work was an important source for al-Jayhānī. Collecting Ibn Khurdādhbih's data on the seas, it can be concluded that he used different sources. The basic tradition followed the Koran in supposing an eastern and a western sea. The Eastern Sea is identical with the Indian Ocean,<sup>735</sup> while the Western Sea is mentioned in connection with the trade of Slavic, Byzantine, Frankish and Lombard slaves, Byzantine and Andalusian slave-girls, and furs. This expression must refer to the Mediterranean Sea.<sup>736</sup> Ibn Khurdādhbih mentioned the Eastern Sea and the Western Sea in a passage treating of the itineraries of Jewish merchants,<sup>737</sup> but he recorded the Sea of Rūm instead of the Western Sea in the passage about the Rūs merchants. The Sea of Rūm is mentioned with those rivers which flow into the Mediterranean: Nile, Sayḥān, Jayḥān, Orontes.<sup>738</sup>

In addition, al-Jarmī called the Mediterranean Sea the Syrian Sea. Ibn Khurdādhbih put down the Sea of Jurjān too, which can be traced back to ancient Hyrcania, obviously designating the Caspian Sea.<sup>739</sup> It is called the Sea of Jīlān once.<sup>740</sup> The Khazar Sea means the Black Sea in the quotations from the work of al-Jarmī. Kmoskó interpreted al-Jarmī's practice through a historical argument: the central region of the Khazar Empire lay on the Sea of Azov and Black Sea in the 9th century and shifted to the city on the Lower Volga in the vicinity of the Caspian Sea only in the 10th century.<sup>741</sup> It is difficult to defend this theory, as the Khazar capital was originally Balanjar in the northern Caucasus near the Caspian Sea, and the Khazars shifted the capital to the Lower Volga due to Arab attacks in the first half of the 8th century. Nevertheless the Khazars played an important role in the history of the Crimea. It was controlled by them apart from the southern zone, which was a Byzantine province with its centre at Kherson. There was a Khazar city called Tmutarakan on Taman peninsula, which was the strategic point of the Kerch Strait.<sup>742</sup> The Khazars kept the Sea of Azov under their control, so it can be regarded as the Khazar Sea. As for the Black Sea, a section of its shore was under Khazar rule and, as in the case of other seas, its designation may have derived from the Khazars. While al-Jarmī

735 BGA VI, 17, 153, 174, 176; Kmoskó 1/1, 96, 121.

736 BGA VI, 92, 153, 154; Kmoskó 1/1, 121.

737 BGA VI, 153–154; Kmoskó 1/1, 121.

738 BGA VI, 176–177.

739 BGA VI, 124, 154, 155, 173, 175; Kmoskó 1/1, 120, 122.

740 BGA VI, 124; Kmoskó 1/1, 120.

741 Kmoskó 1/1, 122, note 384.

742 Polgár 2004, 18–19.

borrowed the term from Byzantium, Muslim geographical literature nonetheless identified the Khazar Sea with the Caspian Sea. This is further confirmed by Ibn Khurdādhbih in his description of the mountain range from Mecca to the eastern end of the Caucasus, in which he stated that this mountain range stretches as far as the Khazar Sea, i.e. the Caspian Sea.<sup>743</sup> Ibn Khurdādhbih used the term “Khazar Sea” once, copying the passage of al-Jarmī for the Black Sea, while in other cases it denoted the Caspian Sea in the second half of the 9th century. The latter usage became prevalent in the Muslim literature.

In conclusion, the use of the term Sea of Rūm in the description of the Magyars reflects contemporary uncertainty. As the Byzantine Empire divided the Islamic territories from the Black Sea, information about this sea reached Muslim centres first through the mediation of the Greek geographical literature, which was supplemented by Muslim prisoners of war in Byzantium. In contrast, the southern coast of the Caspian Sea was conquered by the Muslims, and its earliest name, the Sea of Jurjān, derived from the Persian name of the province at its south-east corner. Then it was designated by the names of other Muslim provinces on the sea-coast. Finally, the term Khazar Sea spread in the Muslim geographical literature to become the name of the Caspian Sea, as the Khazars controlled the northern part of it. Muslim merchants and diplomats visited Eastern Europe regularly in the 9th century, bringing new reliable descriptions of the region, the image of the geographical setting gradually became clearer, although many contradictions and uncertainties remained even in the 10th century.

As Muslim sailors did not penetrate into the Black Sea or the Sea of Azov, Muslim authors must have had secondary data from them, for they did not clearly distinguish the Pontus (Black Sea) and Maeotis (Sea of Azov) from each other. The Black Sea is called the Sea of the Khazars, Bulgars, and Rūs because those peoples lived on its shore, but a lasting geographical term could not develop as it did in the case of Caspian Sea, whose designation as Khazar became widely accepted.

Al-Jayhānī mentioned that the Magyars lived between two rivers flowing into this sea. On the basis of the historical and geographical data on the Magyars in other sources, these two rivers must have flowed into the Black Sea or the Sea of Azov. Al-Jayhānī, as reflected by Ibn Rusta, regarded the Pontus, or Black Sea, as a separate sea in the introduction to his geographical work. However, the author of the source that al-Jayhānī used in describing the Magyars did not consider the Black Sea a separate sea but identified it with the Sea of

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743 BGA VI, 172–173.

Rūm, perhaps at least as a part of it. A similar concept is found in Ibn Rusta's description of the seven climates, stating that the seventh climate crossed the northern part of the Sea of Ṭabaristān (Caspian Sea), then passed the Sea of Rūm and the lands of the (Danubian) Bulgars and Slavs to reach the Western Sea.<sup>744</sup> A similar inadequate conception that treated the Black Sea as a part of the Mediterranean was quoted above in the work of al-Mas'ūdī, even though he possessed thorough knowledge of the Black Sea and even the Sea of Azov.

### *Jayhūn Amu Darya*

The names of the two rivers that flow into the Sea of Rūm will be discussed later. The comparison of one of the rivers with the Jayhūn (Amu Darya) was first interpreted by Géza Kuun as suggesting that al-Jayhānī compared the great rivers of other countries with the largest river of his homeland.<sup>745</sup> But that would entail that al-Jayhānī himself traveled in Eastern Europe and saw those rivers personally, which is uncertain, so it is more possible that Muslim merchants or diplomats who visited the land of the Magyars were of Transoxanian origin.

The river Jayhūn is well-known in the Muslim geographical literature. Kmoskó based the reconstruction of the Jayhānī tradition on the information they gave about the river.<sup>746</sup> Ibn Khurdādhbih preserved the oldest description of the Jayhūn.<sup>747</sup> A new, expanded version is found in the geographical works of Ibn Rusta, al-Maqdisī and al-Bakrī,<sup>748</sup> and the latter author named al-Jayhānī as the source of the description of the river. The *Hudūd al-ālam* preserved a description of Jayhūn, but it belongs to another tradition.<sup>749</sup> The Balkhī tradition, including al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawqal, described Transoxania in detail along the river Jayhūn from province to province.<sup>750</sup> The other outstanding representative of 10th century Muslim literature, al-Mas'ūdī, also recorded an account of the region.<sup>751</sup> Ibn Faḍlān traveled from Bukhara to Khwārazm on

744 BGA VII, 97; Wiet 1955, 109; Kmoskó 1/1, 183.

745 Kuun 1900, 146. A similar view was expressed by Marquart (1903, 26, note 1) and also by Kmoskó (1/1, 198).

746 Kmoskó 1/1, 63.

747 BGA VI, 173; Kmoskó 1/1, 179, note 687.

748 BGA VII, 91–92; Wiet 1955, 102–103; Kmoskó 1/1, 179–180; Leeuwen, Ferre in 1992, 231; Kmoskó 1/2, 234–235.

749 Minorsky, 1939, 71.

750 Al-Iṣṭakhrī: BGA I, 296–305; Kmoskó 1/2, 40–44. Ibn Ḥawqal: BGA II<sup>2</sup>, 475–482; Kramers, Wiet 1964, 457–463.

751 *Murūj* 1, 211–212, II<sup>2</sup>, 115; Kmoskó 1/2, 152; Pellat 1962, 86.

the Amu Darya on his way to the Volga Bulgars, and he saw the river freezing in winter and animals and cars crossing on the ice of the river.<sup>752</sup> Miquel compiled the data in older Muslim literature about this river.<sup>753</sup>

Spuler wrote a study of the Amu Darya from the historical point of view.<sup>754</sup> The Greeks referred to it as the Ὠξός and Latin sources call it the *Oxus*, while it was called *Wehrōdh* by the Persians during the Sasanian period. The Arabs and the Muslim Persians used the term *Jayhūn*, which Gardizī applied as a geographical term as a noun meaning 'large river.' The ancient name *Transoxania* meant the areas lying north of the river, while the Arabs called this region the *Mā-wara' al-nahr* 'What lies beyond the River,' and it was one of the most important provinces of the Muslim East during the Middle Ages. The determination of the source of the river encounters difficulties because the Amu Darya is formed from the confluence of several rivers, including the Vakhsh, Panj, and Kunduz flowing from the Pamir and Hindu Kush. Their confluence, i.e. the beginning of the Amu Darya, is located near Balkh (at a distance of about 100 miles). Then the river forms the boundary between the Kara-kum and Kizil-kum. On its lower reaches, near its estuary is Khwārazm, which was one of the most important commercial and cultural centers of Central Asia. It has been suggested that the Amu Darya flowed into the the Caspian Sea and not into the Aral Sea, however the river flows into the Aral Sea in several branches, while others of its branches turn west to end in moors and lakes, but so far as is known, none of these reached the Caspian Sea. The Jayhūn was an important and well-known river in the Islamic world in the 10th century.

Al-Mas'ūdī, discussing the historical and geographical settings of the Byzantine themes and its borders and neighboring territories in his last book, *Tanbih*, identified the Jayhūn with the Danube: "(We reported) that the Burgar and Bajanāk, belonging to the Turks and other (tribes) of Walandariyya, pondered some Byzantine boundaries at present;<sup>755</sup> the news about the wall which is called *maqrūn taykhus* (μακρόν τεῖχος), which means 'Long Wall'.<sup>756</sup> As we mentioned before, the barrier between the land of the Burjān and the five themes beyond Constantinople was built in ancient times between two mighty moun-

752 Togan 1939, 9–10, 13; Kovalevskiy 1956, 123; Frye 2005, 28–29, 30.

753 Miquel 1980, 223, note 2.

754 Spuler 1958, 213–248; see B. Spuler, *Amu Darya*: EI<sup>2</sup> I, 454–457.

755 Reference to the campaign of the Magyars and Pechenegs against the Byzantine Empire in 934, which the author described in two other passages (ΜΕΗ 53–56, 57–58; Kmoskó 1/2, 182–185, 217–218).

756 The τεῖχος μακρόν was mentioned in *Tanbih* BGA VIII, 179; Kmoskó 1/2, 217. The wall was built by the emperor Anastasius between 507 and 512.

tains, this side of a river which is called *Dunābī*<sup>757</sup> in the *Ṣaqlabī* language. Its width is about three miles, as we already mentioned. The Burghar, the *Ṣaqlāliba* and many other tribes in the north live on it. Finally, the view of those who believe that it is the *Jayhūn*, i.e. the river of Balkh, which we mentioned in the first part of this book in the passages about the large rivers in the world, their estuaries into the seas and other information about the Romans and their countries.”<sup>758</sup> Kmoskó called attention to the fact that it is the same river called *Dnbh* mentioned in the description of the Pontus in *Tanbīh*, and it is also described as lying beyond Constantinople and having a breadth of three miles.<sup>759</sup> The mention of the River Turk after the *Dnbh* flowing into the Pontus, which is also called the river of al-Shāsh (Syr Darya), can be similarly explained by an informant whose homeland was on the bank of the Syr Darya. The Danube in Europe in fact played a similar role as the Amu Darya and the Syr Darya in Central Asia. The River Turk, meaning the Danube, i.e. the river of the Magyars, might have served as the base of the reasoning by which al-Mas‘ūdī connected it with a tributary of the Syr Darya. Originally it was the river Parak ~ Barak, which was prone to a simple misspelling in Arabic script, *b.r.k~t.r.k* ترك ~ برك.<sup>760</sup> Al-Mas‘ūdī connected the Danube with the Amu Darya and the River of the Turks, probably another version of the Danube, with the Syr Darya.

The Balkhī tradition compared the Ätil, i.e. the Volga, with the *Jayhūn* in the chapter dealing with the Khazar Sea: “It is said that more than seventy streams branch out from this river. Its main body flows by Khazarān till it falls into the sea. It is said that if this river’s upper courses were collected into one, its waters would exceed the Oxus (*Jayhūn*). Its size and weight of water are such that when it reaches the sea it continues to flow as a river for two days’ journey, prevailing over the water of the sea, so that in winter it freezes owing to its freshness and sweetness, and its color may be seen distinct from the color of the sea-water.”<sup>761</sup> The comparison is remarkable, because the Volga was named Ätil in the Balkhī tradition, and one of the two rivers of the Magyar lands mentioned in the *Jayhānī* tradition was also called Ätil, but it flowed into the Sea of Rūm.

Finally, there is a relevant comparison by Ibn Ḥawqal in the chapter on the Syr Darya: “It is a large river that became large from the rivers that unite with it on the borders of the Turks and Islam. The main branch of the river comes

757 Paris manuscript: *D.yānī*, London manuscript: *D.bānī*.

758 BGA VIII, 183–184; Kmoskó 1/2, 220.

759 *Tanbīh*: BGA VIII, 67; Kmoskó 1/2, 207, 220, note 111.

760 Miquel 1980, 221, note 6.

761 Dunlop 1954, 95; al-Iṣṭakhrī: BGA I, 222; Kmoskó 1/2, 29; Ibn Ḥawqal: BGA II, 282; 11<sup>2</sup>, 393; Kmoskó 1/2, 77; Kramers, Wiet 1964, 383.

from the land of the Turks in the vicinity of the frontiers of Ūzkand. Then the Kharshāb, Ūrast, Quba and Jidghil and other rivers join it. It becomes large and abounding in water. Then it runs through Akhshikat, then Khujanda, Banākat, and Sutkand, and it runs to Bārāb. Crossing the border of Şabrān it flows to a desert which is the border of the land of the Ghuzziyya-Turks. Then it reaches *al-Qarya al-Ḥadītha*<sup>762</sup> (“New village”) a parasang further. Finally, it flows into the lake of Khwārazm two stations away from *al-Qarya al-Ḥadītha*. At high tide, this river is equivalent to two-thirds of the Jayḥūn. Food is transported on it to *al-Qarya al-Ḥadītha* at the time of the armistice, when the Turks made peace with the Muslims. Muslims also live in *al-Qarya al-Ḥadītha*. It is the capital of the Ghuzziyya empire and the King of Ghuzziyya spent the winter there.”<sup>763</sup>

The Muslim geographers al-Jayhānī, al-Balkhī, al-Iṣṭakhṛī, Ibn Ḥawqal and al-Masʿūdī used the river Jayḥūn as a reference when speaking about the size of the Danube, the Volga and the Syr Darya.

### *Winter Quarters*

The importance of rivers among the nomads in choosing winter quarters has already been emphasized. References to the winter and summer quarters in the cycle of repeated nomadic migrations were cited in texts dealing with the question of nomadism in connection with the Uygurs, Kimäks and Oguz. Even Strabo (60 BC–15 AD) pointed out this particular feature of nomadic life in his *Geographia*: “As for the Nomads, their tents, made of felt, are fastened on the wagons in which they spend their lives; and round about the tents are the herds which afford the milk, cheese, and meat on which they live; and they follow the grazing herds, from time to time moving to other places that have grass, living only in the marsh-meadows about Lake Maeotis in winter, but also in the plains in summer.”<sup>764</sup>

Györfly cited numerous parallel passages as analogies for the reconstruction of the settlement system of the Magyar tribal leaders in the Carpathian Basin.<sup>765</sup> Plano Carpini recorded the migration of the Mongols in Eastern Europe: “We travelled through all the country of the Comani, which is completely flat, and which has four great rivers. The first is called the Neper, along

762 The village near the city Kazalinsk. See Ibn Rusta: BGA VII, 92; Kmoskó 1/1, 180, note 694; Masʿūdī, *Murūj* 11, 212; Pellat 1962, 86, Golden 1992, 209–210; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 109, note 67.

763 BGA II, 393; II<sup>2</sup>, 511–512; Kramers, Wiet 1964, 489; Kmoskó 1/2, 87–88.

764 [http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Strabo/7C\\*.html](http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Strabo/7C*.html); Cf. Andrews 1999, 24.

765 Györfly 1970, 1975.



which is the part of Russia that Corenza rules and another area of flatlands where Mouci<sup>766</sup> rules who is more powerful than Corenza. The second is the Don<sup>767</sup> over which rules a certain prince who is married to Bati's sister, called Carbon.<sup>768</sup> The third is the Volga,<sup>769</sup> and this river, along which Bati rules, is very large. The fourth is called the Iaec,<sup>770</sup> over which two millenarii rule, one over one part and the other over another. All of these flow to the sea in winter and in summer they overflow their banks up to the hills. In fact this sea is the Great Sea<sup>771</sup> from which extends the Arm of St. George which goes to Constantinople. Along the Neper, however, we spent many days on ice. These rivers are big and full of fish and greater than the Volga. These rivers enter the Greek Sea which is called the Great Sea, and we travelled along the shores of that sea, which is quite dangerous because of ice in many places. It was well frozen from the shore to a distance of three leagues inland.<sup>772</sup> The other famous traveler of the Mongol period, Rubruk, proved to be a precise observer: "Nowhere have they fixed dwelling-places, nor do they know where their next will be. They have divided among themselves Cithia [= Scythia], which extendeth from the Danube to the rising of the sun; and every captain, according as he hath more or less men under him, knows the limits of his pasture land and where to graze in winter and summer, spring and autumn. For in winter they go down to warmer regions in the south: in summer they go up to cooler (territory) towards the north. The pasture lands without water they graze over in winter when there is snow there, for the snow serveth them as water."<sup>773</sup>

Györfly called attention to the data on the migration of the Khazar Khagan and Volga Bulgar ruler and their courts and the correlation of Pecheneg tribes with the rivers in the work of the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus.<sup>774</sup>

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766 The Mongolian word *moči* means 'carpenter.' It was the name of the eldest son of Chagatay, who was born by a servant of his chief wife. (Gießauf 1995, 172, note 483).

767 Here the name Don appears for the first time in Western sources; it was previously known as the Tanais.

768 A Mongolian aristocrat, who cannot be identified from other sources. Plano Carpini met Daniil Romanovitch, the Prince of Halych-Volhynia, who was on his way back from Batu, near his settlement.

769 He is the first Western author who uses the well-known name of this river, from Slavic.

770 Jayak: MTT, paragraphs 262, 270, 272. The Turkic name of the Ural River.

771 The Great Sea means the Black Sea, for which another name is the Greek Sea, referring to Byzantium.

772 Hildinger 1996, 99–100; Gießauf 1995, 210, note 604; Györfly 1986, 160–161; Schmieder 1997, 103.

773 Györfly 1986, 207; Risch 1934, 35–36.

774 Györfly 1970, 193–194; 1975, 49.

He pointed in particular to the system of migration of the royal courts. The ruler or chieftain of the tribe moved with his followers seeking pastures and water required by the herds, so they chose the winter and summer quarters along the rivers. The products of the craftsmen could be obtained in the towns or from the conquered peoples. Luxury goods could be secured by taxing foreign trade, for which the ports of the rivers provided the best possibilities. Besides analogies, Györffy's major argument rested on the place names of settlements in the Carpathian Basin. It had been pointed out earlier that there are several settlements having the same name along the river Tisza, one of them located at the feet of the mountains and the other a distance of about two days away, which can be considered the winter and summer quarter of the same person. Györffy compared the names of princes and tribal leaders of the 10th century with the paired geographical names on various rivers and concluded that the Magyar prince migrated along the Danube, but the heir to the throne could choose from three *Ducati* (in Bihar, Nyitra and Krassó). In addition, tribal chieftains wandered along the river Tisza and the rivers around Lake Balaton and in Transylvania when travelling between their winter and summer quarters.<sup>775</sup>

Kristó highlighted the limitations of the use of geographical names, and called attention to the naming patterns in early Hungarian practice, which were generally based on one or two points of views. In most cases the designation comes from the environment and was not a self-designation, and moreover place names were fixed only after forming permanent settlements, but the place names migrated later on. For this reason Kristó did not accept Györffy's argument.<sup>776</sup> Révész, discovering royal tombs on the upper Tisza, suspected that the Magyar rulers settled in that region in the first half of the 10th century and that the royal court moved to the Danube only circa the middle of the 10th century. For this reason the migration of Árpád and his sons on the Danube seems improbable.<sup>777</sup> Fodor has recently pointed out that the Carpathian Basin was significantly different from the classical steppe from a geographical point of view. There is higher rainfall in the basin, and before river regulations of the 19th century 15% of the Carpathian Basin was covered completely or partially by water. The flood area of the river Tisza made it impossible to migrate south-north along the river due to the floodplains and swamps, whereas the rich pastures facilitated a smaller-scale migration vertically to the river, which

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775 Györffy 1970, 195–238.

776 Kristó 1995, 255–263.

777 Révész 1994, 139–150.

accelerated permanent settlement. Nomadic migration was possible in the region between the plains and the mountains. Fodor finds the theory of Györffy unacceptable due to these arguments.<sup>778</sup>

Kristó emphasized the crucial role of the river in the life of the nomads based on the analysis of the work of the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, stating that the emperor based his geographical descriptions on the rivers in connection with the nomads, while towns were characteristics of agricultural societies and kingdoms.<sup>779</sup>

### *Fishing*

The reference to fishing proves that the nomads exploited the abundance of Eastern European rivers when crossing the steppe regions. The paramount importance of fishing in the economic system of the nomads has been attested by authors since antiquity.

Herodotus noted of the Borysthenes, i.e. the Dnieper: “and the fish in it are beyond all in their excellence and their abundance ... it provides great spineless fish, called sturgeons, for salting, and many other wondrous things besides.”<sup>780</sup> The Abbot of Prüm, Regino, excerpted the *Exordia Scythica* going back ultimately to Herodotus, and identifying the Magyars with the Scythians remarked: “They are dedicated to the practice of hunting and fishing.”<sup>781</sup> The ancient geographer Strabo made certain observations in relation to the nomadic lifestyle of a particular type of fishing: “And fish that become caught in the ice are obtained by digging with an implement called the *gangame*, and particularly the *antacaei*,<sup>782</sup> which are about the size of dolphins.”<sup>783</sup> Stolba suggested ice fishing in his article studying ancient coins imprinted with the images of different kinds of fishes around the Black Sea.<sup>784</sup>

The Syrian work of Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor of the 6th century contained the lists thirteen tent-dwelling peoples inhabiting the foothills of the Caucasus, and it was noted that they lived on the flesh of livestock and fish.<sup>785</sup>

Theophanes Confessor noted in the story about the origin of the Danube Bulgars: “From the aforesaid lake is a stretch of sea like a river which joins

778 Fodor 2002, 26–29.

779 Kristó 2002 3–7.

780 Herodotus IV, 53, 253–255; Feix 1988, 543; Dovatur 1982, 119, note 282–283.

781 “... *venationum et piscationum exercitiis inserviunt*.” SRG, 232; Rau 2002<sup>4</sup>, 283; MEH, 196.

782 Both terms mean a kind of fishing net. Stolba 2005, 123.

783 [http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Strabo/7C\\*.html](http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Strabo/7C*.html)

784 Stolba 2005, 123–124.

785 Szádeczky-Kardoss 1979, 36; Czeglédy 1971, 137.

the Euxine through the land of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, in which river are caught the so-called *mourzoulin* and similar fish. Now on the eastern side of the lake that lies above, in the direction of Phanagouria and of the Jews that live there, march a great many tribes; whereas, starting from the same lake in the direction of the river called Kouphis where the Bulgarian fish called *xyston* is caught is the old Great Bulgaria and the so-called Kotragoi, who are of the same stock as the Bulgars.<sup>786</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus also mentioned fishing in connection with the Maeiotis: "Into the eastern side of the Maotic lake debouch many rivers, the Tanais river that comes down from the city of Sarkel, and the Charakoul, in which they fish for sturgeon ..." <sup>787</sup> Moravcsik connected the two names.<sup>788</sup>

The geographer of Ravenna, writing around 680, characterized the area of Onoguria, which was located on the north coast of the Black Sea in the marshes of Maeotis. The inhabitants of the neighboring places catch a lot of fish, and they eat them in a barbaric manner without salt.<sup>789</sup>

Muslim and Hebrew sources emphasized the importance of fishing, particularly in connection with the Volga. The Khazar ruler Joseph noted in his letter about his country: "The country has not often rain, but it has many rivers, where there are a lot of fish ..." <sup>790</sup> The Balkhī tradition describing the foods of the Khazars recorded: "Their chief food is rice and fish."<sup>791</sup> Zahoder and Ludwig collected all other information about the fishing activity of the Khazars.<sup>792</sup>

Ibn Faḍlān made a remark on the importance of fish in connection with food preparation of the Volga Bulgars: "They have neither olive oil nor sesame oil, nor cooking oil of any kind. They use instead of these oils fish oil, and everything that they use reeks of fish oil."<sup>793</sup>

The famous Muslim traveler of the 12th century, Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnāḥī, had personal experiences with fish in the city Saqsin on the lower Volga: "Many

786 Mango, Scott 1997, 498; Lauterbach 1967, 555; Szádeczky-Kardoss 1980, 52; 1998, 219.

787 DAI, 187.

788 Moravcsik BT II, 89, 212–213.

789 "Adserens (*incolans*) *multitudinem piscium ex vicinantibus locis habere, sed, ut barbarus mos est, insulse eos perfruere.*" (Moravcsik 1967, 94; Szádeczky-Kardoss 1970, 903).

790 The longer version: "But it has many rivers and springs and countless fish are caught in the rivers." (Kohn 1881, 42, Note 3; see Kokovcov 1932, 87, 103)

791 Dunlop 1954, 93; al-Iṣṭakhrī: BGA I, 221; Kmoskó 1/2, 29. Ibn Ḥawqal: BGA II, 282; II<sup>2</sup>, 392; Kmoskó 1/2, 76; Kramers, Wiet 1964, 382; al-Muqaddasī: BGA III, 361; Kmoskó 1/2, 132, 255.

792 Zahoder 1962, 116; Ludwig 1982, 240–241.

793 Frye 2005, 54; Togan 1939, a 28, 62; Kovalevskiy 1956, 136; Canard 1958, 62; Lewicki 1985, 57, 104, 168, note 325.

species of fish live in the above-mentioned river. I have not seen similar fish anywhere in the world. One of these fish is as heavy as a strong man, another weighs as much as a burly camel, but there are also small fish that have no bones in the head and in which there are neither bones nor teeth. It is like a leg of mutton filled with chicken, and it is even better and more palatable than the meat of a fat lamb. If this fish is fried and filled with rice, it is better than the meat of a fat lamb and the meat of chicken. A fish weighing 100 *Mann* (*Mann* = 0.8 to 2.0 kg) costs a half *Dāniq* (1/6 dirham = 0.52 grams). So much fat can be gained from it that burns a lamp for a whole month, and a half *Mann* or a little more of fish glue can be obtained from its stomach. The meat is cut into thin strips and dried. It is the best jerked meat in the world. Its color is like amber and pure red. They eat it with bread as it is and they don't need to cook or fry it ... The (smaller) rivers are deep and filled with water from the main stream. So many fish live here as grains of sand. From time to time a ship comes to one of these rivers. They levy a net at the estuary of the river and the fish are loaded onto the ship and fill the ship (with fish). Even if a hundred ships came at once, they could be filled with various fish from a single river."<sup>794</sup>

In the 14th century, Rubruk wrote about fishing during crossing the Don, where the Russian ferrymen had a village: "So we remained there on the river bank for three days. The first day they gave us a big barbell [J: eel-pout] just out of the water, the second day some rye bread and a little meat which the headman of the village collected from the different houses; the third day we got dried fish, of which they have great quantities here. That river at this point was as broad as the Seine at Paris. And before we came there, we passed many fine sheets of water full of fish, but the Tartars do not know how to catch them, nor do they care for fish unless they can eat it as they would mutton."<sup>795</sup> Spuler noted in his book on the Golden Horde that fresh or salted fish was the favorite food of the Tartars and the Russians. Fishing was an important activity on the coast of the Black Sea and constituted an important share of the exports of the Cumans.<sup>796</sup> All these data demonstrate that the major rivers of Eastern Europe were suitable for fishing, but give no clear indication of fishing among the nomads.

The existence of fishing among the pre-conquest Magyars supports the evidence of the Jayhānī tradition and of early Turkic loanwords in Hungarian. Gyula Németh published a study of Turkic loanwords in Hungarian associated

794 Dubler 1953, 6–7, 8–9; Bolsakov, Mongajt 1985, 38–39, 41–42, 85, 109.

795 [http://depts.washington.edu/silkroad/texts/rubruck.html#resume\\_travels](http://depts.washington.edu/silkroad/texts/rubruck.html#resume_travels); Risch, 1934, 94–95; Györfy 1986, 233–234.

796 Spuler 1943, 442.

with fishing, including *gyalom* ‘drag-net, a kind of fishing net’, *gyertya* ‘candle; torch, which was used in fishing,’ and different fish names like *tok* ‘sturgeon, *Acipenser sturio*,’ *süllő* ‘pike perch, zander,’ *Stizostedion lucioperca*’ *sőreg* ‘sterlet, sturgeon, *Acipenser stellatus*, *ruthenus*.’ He concluded that in addition to agriculture and stockbreeding, a third major source of livelihood among the early Magyars was fishing.<sup>797</sup> Ligeti devoted a separate chapter to fishing terminology in his book on Turkic loanwords in Hungarian.<sup>798</sup> The sweep-net and sturgeon were mentioned several times in medieval sources, which is corroborated by Hungarian language history. Béla Gunda reviewed the ethnographic literature on early fishing,<sup>799</sup> and Miklós Szilágyi evaluated the available material from a methodological perspective.<sup>800</sup>

## 9 The Bulgars on the Danube

Gardizī: As for the Jayhūn (river), which is to the left of them towards the Saqlāb, there are a people belonging to the Rūm, all of whom are Christians. They are called N.nd.r. They are more numerous than the Magyars, but they are weaker.

*Ḥudūd al-‘ālam*: Discourse on the Country of W.n.nd.r. East of it are the B.rādhās; south of it, the Khazars; west of it, mountains; north of it, the Majgharī. They are cowards, weak, poor, and possess few goods.

Gardizī inserted paragraphs 9 and 11 into the text, and parallel passages are to be found only in the *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam*. However, it does not form a part of the Magyar chapter but is a separate account in the description on the peoples of the Eastern Europe. Comparing the paragraphs of Gardizī with those of al-Marwazī, paragraph 10 is of crucial importance. The names of the two rivers flowing into the Sea of Rūm separate paragraph 9, which deals with the Danube Bulgars, from paragraph 11 describing the Moravians, but it was part of the basic version. It should be noted that the passages on the Danube Bulgars and Moravians were only preserved in Persian and became part of the text during later revisions of the tradition.

797 Németh 1937, 135–140; cf. Váczy 1958, 294.

798 Ligeti 1986, 294–296.

799 Néprajzi Lexikon 2, 421–423.

800 Szilágyi 1997, 61–68.

کی مانند بخیرند قلعه ملک قلعه است سخت عظیم بر سر کوهی دشتت مگر نیز طبعه با شاد و کونندگی و پرا  
 تختی سخت عظیمست لوز سرخ خندان شهر هیت دشتت سپاه سالاران آن گشت و بخش مستط  
 دو شهر است با نعمت بسیار و ازین شهر در ولایت برده بسیار اند و مسلمانان سخن از آنجا حجت خزان ناچینست  
 مشرفی دیو در دست میان کوه و دریا و دیگر دیار است و بعضی از روز آنک و جنوب هی سر پند و مغربش کوه است  
 و شاهش بر از اس است و قلعه و ازین ناچینست بسیار نعمت و آبادان و باخاشنه بسیار و از هی کاو و کوه سهند  
 و در ده خیزد نیز عدد آنک شهر هیت کی روز آنک بر میان هی بگردد و مقصد خزان است و در سرترا باز شاه  
 و او را طرخان خاقان خوانند و از خندان آنسا است و اند، نیمه مغربش خندان ازین شهر با همه لشکر این نیمه  
 باره دله ز و اندر نیمه دیگر مسلمانان و برستان اند و این با دشارا هفت حاکمت اند برین شهر از هفت بر مختلف  
 بهر ساعت جز در امیری برنگردند از آن با دشاست قدری خواهند یا که گند بچکم آن دامرای سهند شهر است  
 بر کران در جاسی با نعمت و بازارها و بازگان خنج بلخدر صا ساز عمر خلق گن شهر  
 مسکن شهرهای اند از خزان همه بارهای محکم و نعمت و خالصه ملک خندان بیشتر از باز دیار است  
 طو است بلو عمر دو ناچینست از خندان مردمان جنگی و با سلاح بسیار سخن از آنجا حجت بر طاس مشرف  
 و جنوبش مشرف و مغربش روز آنک است و شاهنش ناچینست چنانکست و مردمان هی مسلمانان اند و ایشانرا  
 زبانست خاصه و با دشته و امس بخوانند خداوند خنده و فرکا هندی و ایشان سه کرده اند معصوم است  
 پلکار و همه با یکدیگر حرب اند و خند دشتی بدیدارید یا یکدیگر با باشند سخن از آنجا حجت بر از اس  
 ناچینست مشرف هی روز آنک و جنوب هی خزان و مغربش و قلعه و شاهنش چنانک ترک و مردمان اند کیش  
 خزان دله ز و خداوندان فرکا هندی و مرده را بسعدانند و از لطاعت خزانان اند و خزانته ایشان هی است  
 دله است و ایشانرا دو ملکست کی با یکدیگر نیامیزند سخن از آنجا حجت و قلعه ناچینست مشرفش بر از اس  
 و جنوبش خزان و مغربش کوه و شاهنش مجنهای و مردمانی بددل و ضعیف و فروریش و کم خاشنه و این همه  
 کی با یکدیگر همه ناچینست از آن مسلمانان و کافرهای که از آنجا حجت شمال است از آنادلو همان  
 بلغار شهر هیت کی را و او ناچینست خرد بر لب روز آنک نهادند و از هی همه مسلمانان اند و از هی  
 قلعه هیت مغربش در سولم بر روی کی با هر چند که بر لوز که کافران حرب کنند و همت ایند و جاسی است  
 و بسیار نعمتست سوار شهر هیت نیز یکی بلغار و از هی غان ایند و چنانک بلغار ایند سخن از آنجا

FIGURE 8 Nandur Chapter from the facsimile edition of the MS of *Hudūd al-Ālam*. *Hudūd al-Ālam*: rukopis' Tumanskogo (*Hudūd al-Ālam*: the manuscript of Tumanskii), introd. and indexes by V.V. Bartol'd, Leningrad, 1930 (facsim. ed.), p. 76.

The *Jayhūn*, meaning ‘river’ in Gardīzī’s geographical designation, is one of the two rivers mentioned in paragraph 10. Since al-Jayhānī or its source viewed Eastern Europe from the south-east, the term “on their left side” meant to their west (the Magyars), which is confirmed by the reference to the Slavs and the fact that the people living west of the Hungarians beyond the great river belong to Rūm, i.e. Byzantium,<sup>801</sup> which refers to a different cultural and religious background in the account of the Muslim authors. In addition, the river can be identified with the Danube, which is mentioned in paragraph 10 as one of the two rivers, as it was the borderline between the Magyars and the Bulgars.<sup>802</sup> The crucial point in the argument is to be found in the letter of the Khazar King Joseph: “In the country in which I live lived formerly the *W.n.nd.r*. Our Khazar ancestors warred against them. The *W.n.nd.r* were more numerous, as numerous as the sea sand, but they could not resist the Khazars. They left their country ...’ After this the two versions agree in saying that the enemies were driven beyond the great river *Rūnā* or *Dūnā* and ‘until the present day they are situated on the river *Rūnā/Dūnā*, near Kushtan-tiniya/Kustandina [i.e. Constantinople] and the Khazars have occupied their country.’”<sup>803</sup>

#### *Onogundur* ~ *W.n.nd.r*

The geographical description of the *W.n.nd.r* people in the *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam* is the last item in the list of Eastern European peoples. The enumeration follows a west-east direction, and the land of the *W.n.nd.r* people was placed on the eastern frontiers of the area, which is corroborated by the fact that it was followed by the description of the two cities of the Volga Bulgars from the Balkhī tradition.<sup>804</sup> The geographical description of the *W.n.nd.r* chapter is consistent with the description of the Magyars: “south of it, a tribe of Christians (*tarsāyān*) called *W.n.nd.r*.” The Moravian chapter contains their name in Paragraph 11: “... north of it, some of the latter (Inner-Bulgars) and the *W.n.nd.r* mountains.” There is a reference in the Khazar chapter: “north of it, the *B.rādhās* and *N.nd.r*.”<sup>805</sup> Finally, the Burtas (*Barādhās*) chapter may be taken into consid-

801 The use of the name in the Muslim geographical literature: Nadia El Cheikh, Rūm. 1. In Arabic literature: EI<sup>2</sup> VIII, 601–602.

802 Czeglédy, MÓT, 43–45; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 173, note 440, 442.

803 Minorsky 1939, 470–471; Czeglédy, MÓT, 44–45; Kohn 1881, 31–32; Kokovcov 1932, 75, 92.

804 Minorsky 1939, 162–163; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 220.

805 The ethnonym appears in two forms: *w.n.nd.r*, or *wa n.nd.r*. Sotoodeh 1962, 193; Minorsky 1939, 161; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 217.



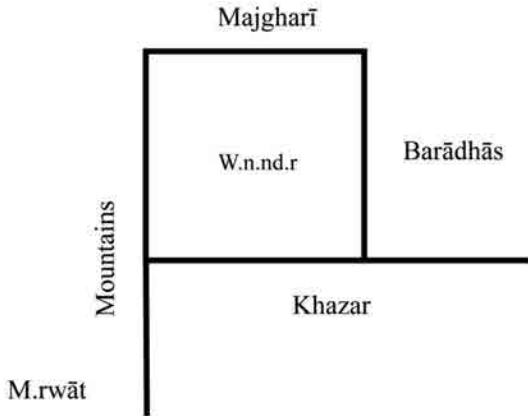


FIGURE 9 *The reconstruction of the geographical location of the W.n.nd.r by Minorsky*  
 MAP BY RICHÁRD SZÁNTÓ, ADAPTED FROM V. MINORSKY, 1939, P. 440

eration: “... west of it, the *W.n.nd.r* [sic]”<sup>806</sup> Minorsky constructed a map on the basis of these data: the Magyars were north of the people mentioned *W.n.nd.r*, east of them are the Burtas, south of them are the Khazars, and west of them the so-called *W.n.nd.r* mountains, beyond it is Moravia according to the chapter of Moravia. The geographic conception locating the people *W.n.nd.r* near the middle course of the Volga is obviously false. While entering the newly-obtained information into his own geographical system projected on a map, Minorsky called attention to the manifest errors the author of the *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam* committed.

The different forms of the ethnonym in the work of Gardīzī and in the *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam* require explanation. Minorsky suggested that the form *n.nd.r* by Gardīzī is the same as *w.n.nd.r* in the *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam* and argued that the copyists invented the form *n.nd.r* from the original *w.n.nd.r*, taking the initial *w-* as *wa-* ‘and’ in Arabic and Persian, which similarly occurred in the case in the chapter of the Khazars in the *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam*. He also claimed that there was no direct connection between *n.nd.r*, which was mentioned by Gardīzī, and Hungarian *Nándor*.<sup>807</sup> However, Ligeti proved to the contrary that Gardīzī recorded a reliable form of the ethnonym that is perfectly reflected in the Hungarian form *Nándor*.<sup>808</sup>

806 Sotoodeh 1962, 194; Minorsky 1939, 162; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 219.

807 Minorsky 1939, 467; see Czeglédy, MÓT, 44.

808 Ligeti 1986, 269.

The form *W.n.nd.r* corresponds to *W.n.nt.r* in the above-mentioned letter of the Khazar King Joseph and the city name *W.n/b.nd.r* (وبند ~ وندر) mentioned between Balanjar and Samandar by Ibn al-Athīr on the occasion of the Arab-Khazar Wars in 722.<sup>809</sup> Similarly, al-Mas'ūdī recorded a town called *W.L.nd.r* (ولندر) in connection with the Pecheneg-Magyar campaign against the Byzantine Empire in 934, which was situated at a distance of eight days' journey from Constantinople.<sup>810</sup> Marquart identified *W.L.nd.r* with the city of Develtos, while Kmoskó preferred Belgrade because of the first element of its old Hungarian name: *Nándorfehérvár*.<sup>811</sup> However, the eight days' journey from Constantinople to Nándorfehérvár does not fit the geographical facts, so an identification with the city of Bulgarophygon has recently been proposed. This city was known from 787, and the element *Bulgar* corresponds to *W.L.nd.r* = *W.n.nd.r*, both referring to the Danube Bulgars. It was an important border town on the main road through the Balkans that could be reached from Constantinople within eight days.<sup>812</sup>

The Greek sources recorded the same ethnonym as *Onogundur*. Constantine Porphyrogenitus recorded it in *De thematibus*: "The crossing of the Barbarians (the Bulgars) of the Danube was circa the end of the reign of Constantine (668–687). Their name appeared at that time, namely, previously they were called Onogundur (Ὀνογούνδουροι)."<sup>813</sup> Nicephorus Patriarcha recounts a message that can be dated to the beginning of the 630s: "At the same time Kuvrat, Organa's cousin, the chief of Onogundurs, revolted against the Khagan of the Avars, and he inflicted enormous suffering on the soldiery (of the Khagan) with him (at Kuvrat's court), drove them out of his country."<sup>814</sup>

There are some examples in which the ethnonym Onogundur appeared as one of a pair of names in a double designation. Theophanes Confessor recorded in the early history of the Danube Bulgars: "In this year (679), too, the tribe of the Bulgars assailed Thrace. It is now necessary to relate the ancient history of the Onogundur-Bulgars (Ὀνογούνδουρων Βουλγάρων) and Kotragoi."<sup>815</sup> The Armenian Ananias of Shirak wrote a work entitled *Geography* in which he mentioned various groups of Bulgars: "To the north are the Turks and Bulgars who

809 Ibn al-Athīr v, 112–113; Czeglédy MÓT, 45; Dunlop 1954, 66; Golden, 1980, 253–254.

810 *Murūj* II, 60, II<sup>2</sup>, 236; Pellat 1962, 178; Kmoskó I/2, 183–184.

811 Marquart 1903, 60–74, 519–529; Kmoskó I/2, 183, note 189.

812 Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 174, note 444.

813 Szádeczky-Kardoss 1980, 71; Moravcsik BT II, 218.

814 Szádeczky-Kardoss 1998, 213.

815 Mango, Scott 1997, 497; Szádeczky-Kardos 1980, 52; Lauterbach 1967, 543, 555.

are named after rivers: ... Olxontor Bulgars ..."<sup>816</sup> This is generally considered an Armenian variant of Onogundur-Bulgar.

It can be concluded from all these data that the people called Onogundur lived near the Black Sea in the 7th century; later they were mentioned at the Lower Danube, in which case they were known also as Bulgars. The ethnonym *Onogundur* changed regularly to *Onundur* ~ *Wonundur* as reflected in the Muslim sources except Gardīzī and the Hebrew letter of the Khazar King Joseph, which must have recorded the Khazar variant of the ethnonym. However, the Hungarian form survived in medieval place names and *Nándor* can be traced back finally to the Turkic *Onogundur*; but Ligeti pointed out that as the development *Onogundur* > *Onundur* > *Nandur* could not have occurred in the Hungarian language, the variant *Nandur* must have been borrowed into Hungarian.<sup>817</sup> The form *n.nd.r* found in Gardīzī certainly might reflect the Hungarian version of the ethnonym, implying reliance on a Magyar informant.

Beside the double name *Onogundur-Bulgar*, another variant, *Onogur-Bulgar* (Οὐνονγοῦρων Βουλγάρων), is widely accepted in the historiography of the people. The latter form was recorded by Agathon when describing events of the year 713 in connection with the Danube Bulgars.<sup>818</sup> The ethnonym Onogundur was regarded as a variant of Onogur, i.e. Onogur + suffix *-dur*, and both names had been used for the Danube Bulgars. A view has thus developed of a consistency in the three ethnonyms, which was supplemented by a remark of Theophanes Confessor, i.e. the Kutrigurs also belonged to this conglomeration. Historical theories were then constructed on this identification of the ethnonyms, but they have often proved misleading. To avoid doubt, the literature on the Bulgars and the so-called Ogur peoples are worth reviewing.

### *Bulgars and Ogurs*

The two ethnonyms Bulgar and Ogur are collective terms denoting Turkic-speaking peoples, i.e. the Ogur, Saragur, Onogur, Kutrigur, Utigur and Bulgar, who lived on the western fringe of the Eurasian steppe in the 5th–6th centuries. The link made between these peoples rests upon the similarities of their languages and their common history. The Turkic languages are divided into two principal groups: common Turkic and Chuvash-type Turkic (Bulgar Turkic in earlier literature). The only currently spoken representative of the latter group of languages is Chuvash. As the dominant language of the Volga

816 Paulik, 2001, 45; Hewsen 1992, 55.

817 Ligeti 1986, 268–269.

818 Moravcsik 1930, 66–67.

Bulgar Empire could have been a Chuvash-type language, the Volga Bulgars were once considered the antecedents of the Chuvash people. According to the latest linguistic and historical research, however, the Chuvash people are not directly descended from the Volga Bulgars. The term Bulgar Turkic was based on a piece of historians' fiction, namely that all the peoples called Bulgars spoke the 'Bulgar Turkic language.' In addition to the Volga Bulgars, the early Bulgars north of the Black Sea and the Danubian Bulgars in the Balkans were determined to have spoken Bulgar Turkic in the absence of any corroborating data. This conception was then extended to those Turkic peoples whose names contained the term Ogur, such as the Ogur, Saragur, Onogur, Kutrigur and Utigur, since this is the Chuvash-type form of the ethnonym Oguz. The first element of these tribal names can be reconstructed as follows: Saragur < \*šari ogur 'white Ogur'; Onogur < on ogur 'ten Ogurs'; Kutrigur < \*toqur ogur 'nine Ogurs'; Utigur < \*otur ogur 'thirty Ogurs.' Compounds with a colour and number occur frequently in the Turkic languages. The colours denote the cardinal points, with white meaning west. The numbers refer to the number of tribes within the confederacy. The second element is the name of the dominant tribe. The crucial point of the Bulgar Turkic theory is a misleading concept: an ethnonym need not indicate the language of the people it designates.<sup>819</sup>

The connection between the Bulgars and Ogurs was corroborated by the double designations of the Danubian Bulgars, i.e. Onogur-Bulgar, which reflects a historical coexistence. The term Onogur-Bulgar is widespread in the historical literature; however, the first element of the compound is not *Onogur* but *Onogundur*, which requires a reconsideration of the relationship between the two forms and the two peoples.<sup>820</sup>

Németh's theory on the etymology of *Bulgar* and its historical background must be mentioned here. The name *Bulgar*, meaning 'mixed,' derives from the Turkic verb *bulga-* 'to mix.' The historical background of this etymology can be explained as follows: after the fall of Attila's Hun empire, the Huns returned to the Pontic steppe, where they mingled with the Onogurs, Ogurs and Saragurs who had come from the east around 463. Later, Németh himself preferred an etymology from the verb *bulga-* 'to stir, confuse, disturb.'<sup>821</sup>

These linguistic and historical problems draw our attention to the need for a more complex approach to the link between the languages and history of

819 Németh 1930, 39–40; Pohl 1988, 23–27; Ligeti 1986, 9–12; Golden 1992, 95–97; Róna-Tas 1999, 112–114.

820 Moravcsik 1930, 70; Beševliev 1981, 147–148, note 14; Romašov 1992–1994, 219–220.

821 Sismanov 1903, 47–85, 334–363; 1904, 88–110; Pelliot 1949, 224–230; Németh 1978, 68–71.

the nomadic peoples. The concept of linguistic affinity has no place in history. There are no kindred peoples, merely cognate languages, in spite of the fact that a group identity did tend to appear within the various elements of a tribal confederacy as a consequence of a lasting political framework.

The Saragurs, Urog (Ugor), and Onogurs came to Eastern Europe shortly before 463 due to a series of migrations originating in Inner Asia. Priscus the Rhetor's original report on the events can be reconstructed from two fragments. The Saragurs, Urog (Ugors), and Onogurs sent emissaries to Byzantium. The Sabirs, who in turn had been driven out by the Avars, had expelled them from their homeland. They had been forced to move by the peoples living on the coast of the ocean: They had been compelled to migrate by sea mists and griffins. The Saragurs had defeated the Akatir Huns in battle and then sent emissaries to Constantinople. The Byzantine emperor received them and gave them precious gifts.<sup>822</sup>

The structure and some details of the account echo the classical work by Herodotus, but Priscus' report contains motifs taken from other antique authors.<sup>823</sup> The link between the classical description and the events of the migration before 463 has been explained in the following ways:

1. The direction of the migration in the mid-5th century coincides with that described by Herodotus, i.e. the migration started from the northeast and proceeded southwest, so the peoples living on the coast of the ocean inhabited the region of Eastern Siberia. The Avars lived in the vicinity of the Altai Mountains and the Sabirs occupied the territory southwest of the Avars. The Saragurs, Ugurs, and Onogurs arrived in Eastern Europe from Western Siberia. This concept was based on the etymology of the geographical name Siberia, which is connected with the ethnonym Sabir and the identification of the tribal name Onogur with *Yugra*, a land in the vicinity of the Ural Mountains as of the 11th century.<sup>824</sup> Since Siberia as a geographical term appeared only in the 13th century and *Yugra* has been derived from other ethnonyms, this assumption cannot be proved.
2. According to another view, the chain migration must be a speculative construction deriving from Greek rational philosophy. The fictional migration was deduced from the vicinity of the peoples.<sup>825</sup>

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822 Moravcsik 1930, 54–61; Sinor 1947, 1–77; Szádeczky-Kardoss 1967, 257–262; 1970, 902–903; Mohay 1979, 129–144.

823 Moravcsik 1930, 58–59; Szádeczky-Kardoss 1967, 257–258.

824 Moravcsik 1930, 58–59.

825 Vajda 1973–1974, 43.

3. The Avar-Sabir-Ogur migration must be considered historical, with the peoples moving from east to west.

The motif of the griffin was connected with the most frequently-used decorative designs, i.e. the griffins and vines, of the late Avar era. This view implied a chronological contradiction, and the griffin was considered a widespread motif throughout the steppe region among the various nomadic peoples.<sup>826</sup> The migration was provoked by the Chinese attack against the Jou-Jan in 450 and 458, which set the peoples of the steppe in motion and forced the Sabirs to leave their settlements around the Balkash Sea and the Irtysh. The Saragurs, Ogurs, and Onogurs lived on the Kazak steppes after 350 and were identified with the western portion of the Ting-ling people in the Chinese sources.<sup>827</sup> This is corroborated by Theophylactus Simocattes, who mentioned in his famous Scythian excursus that an earthquake destroyed the town of Bakath built by the Onogurs, this being a frequent phenomenon in Sogdiana. The town has recently been identified with *Fagkath* in the Muslim geographical literature, which lay northeast of Samarqand.<sup>828</sup> The ethnonym Ogur may have had a connection with the name of the dynastic clan of the Jou-Jan and later with a tribal name of the Qitans. The latter could refer to a group of Ogurs who remained in the east. A third reference may be the land called *Yugra* by the Muslim and Russian authors in existence by the 11th century in the vicinity of the Ural Mountains.<sup>829</sup> These data permit us to place the homeland of the Saragurs, Ogurs, and Onogurs on the Kazak steppes prior to their arrival in Eastern Europe.

As for the Saragurs, having been urged on by the Byzantines, they raided the Persians through the Caucasus in 466. They are mentioned among the nomadic tribes living north of the Caucasus in the mid-6th century in the geographical addendum by Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor.<sup>830</sup>

The Ogurs were also enumerated in this catalogue of nomadic peoples. Theophylactus Simocattes reported that the Türk ruler founded an empire by defeating the surrounding peoples. Among the most significant among these were the Ogurs on the bank of the River Til (*Átil* = Volga or Kama). The two ancient tribes of Ogurs were the Var and Chunni. A small portion of these tribes fled westward and acquired the name Avar; their leader used the title Kaghan,

826 Szádeczky-Kardoss 1967, 259; Mohay 1979, 143.

827 Czeglédy 1983, 97–102; Golden 1992, 92–95.

828 Harmatta 1990, 163–164.

829 Pohl 1988, 33–37; Róna-Tas 1999, 210–214, 255, 435.

830 Moravcsik 1930, 60–62; Czeglédy 1971, 133–148; Romašov 1992–1994, 218–219.

i.e. sovereign ruler among the Turkic-speaking nomads. It would seem that the Ogurs together with the Jou-Jan and the Hephtalites played a dominant role in the ethnic composition of the Avars.<sup>831</sup> In 568/9, as Zemarchos, a Byzantine envoy to the Türk Empire, was returning from the court of the Türk ruler, he met the leader of the Ogurs on the bank of the Atil (Volga), this leader being the representative of the Türks.<sup>832</sup> One group of these Ogurs took part in the ethnogenesis of the Avars, while the rest submitted to the Türks and their name was reflected later in the denomination *Yugra*.<sup>833</sup>

Prior to a discussion of the Onogurs, it is essential to introduce the Bulgars. The first authentic report on the Bulgars can be dated to 480, when they fought against the Goths in the Balkans as allies of the Byzantine emperor Zeno. On the basis of the data provided by John of Antioch's account, the Bulgars lived north of the Black Sea and west of the Don River. The origin and former dwelling places of these Bulgars have been debated. According to Németh's historical theory, the Bulgars were formed from the Ogur peoples and from the Huns, and their name Bulgar 'mixture' reflected this process. Németh later proposed a new etymology of the ethnic name Bulgar that demolished the linguistic foundation of his construction. The eastern origin of the Bulgars can be advanced using several arguments. The name Bulgar has been identified on a coin in the territory of Sogdiana, and the Muslim geographical literature mentioned the town of Bugar in the same region. Furthermore, the author of the *Liber generationis* of 354 derived the descent of the Bulgars from Shem and not from Japheth, the forefather of the Eastern European nomads. Within the geographical setting of Christian literature, this means that the Bulgars lived in the east in the vicinity of Bactria.<sup>834</sup> We may conclude that the Bulgars moved westward from Inner Asia before 480 and that their migration might have been tied to that of the Ogur people in 463. In 480, a Gothic leader, Theoderic Strabo, who threatened Constantinople, defeated the Bulgars as allies of Byzantium, and the Bulgars were frequently mentioned in the Greek and Latin sources from that time on.

The dwelling place of these Bulgars has been located in different regions. The southwestern part of the Carpathian Basin is clearly possible, as they would have been able to carry out raids against the Goths and the provinces of the Balkans.<sup>835</sup> The Latin poet Ennodius assigned the defeat of the Bulgars to

831 Haussig 1953, 275–436; Pohl 1988, 27–37.

832 Szádeczky-Kardoss 1974, 847–850; Moravcsik 1983 I, 65, II, 78, 227–228.

833 Róna-Tas 1999, 435–436.

834 Smirnova 1981, 253–254; FLHB I, 82; Szádeczky-Kardoss 1979, II.

835 Simonyi 1959, 227–250; Beševliev 1980, 75–90.

Theoderic the Great in 480. According to Paulus Diaconus, Theoderic the Great defeated the Gepids and Bulgars on the Sava River on his way to Italy in 488. The first successful attack of the Bulgars against Thrace is dated to 493, when the Byzantine commander was killed in a night battle. The next important venture took place in 499 as they defeated a Byzantine army of fifteen thousand in Thrace. In 502, the Bulgars had retreated with their booty from Illyria and Thrace before the Byzantine army could march against the invaders. As a consequence, the Byzantine court deployed its time-tested diplomatic method of hiring the Bulgars for gold against its enemies. The Bulgar auxiliary formed part of the Byzantine army sent against Mundo in 505, then they played an active role in the revolt of Vitalianus in 513–515. Finally, in 548, they fought under a Byzantine army in Italy.

Other accounts of the Bulgars were recorded in the meantime. In 518, they overran Illyria and defeated the Byzantine army sent against them by means of fascinating songs and magic. The raiding Bulgars were repelled in Illyria in 530 and their leaders marched off to Constantinople. In 535, the Bulgars were again defeated in Moesia. Two Bulgar kings led an army against Scythia and Moesia in 539, but they were attacked and defeated by two Byzantine generals. Then a new Bulgar army appeared and put the victorious Byzantines to flight. Once the Avars had conquered the Carpathian Basin in 567–, the Bulgars of Pannonia became subjects of the Avar Kaghan and were forced to participate in the Avar campaigns as confederate auxiliary troops. In 594, a Bulgar regiment forced a similar Byzantine unit to retreat on the lower Danube. The following year, the Byzantine general Priscus expelled the Bulgar army under the command of the Avar Kaghan from Singidunum. The Bulgar auxiliary troops were used in the second Avar siege of Thessalonica in 618 and in the unsuccessful ten-day Avar siege of Constantinople in 626. According to the Fredegar chronicle, a fierce struggle broke out between the Bulgars and Avars for the throne of the Kaghan in 631–632. The Avars defeated the Bulgar candidate in the civil war, causing the Bulgars to flee. They moved to Bavaria, where they dispersed in winter and were then massacred. Only seven hundred families managed to escape, when under their leader Alcicus they took refuge with the Wendic chieftain.<sup>836</sup>

On the other hand, István Bóna emphasized that the dwelling place of the Bulgars mentioned above was the territory north of the Black Sea and not Pannonia. Scythia, Moesia, and Thrace were also close to both regions. Bóna refuted

836 FGHB II, 32, II, 233, VII, 150, 151, II, 209–210, III, 234, IV, 43, VII, 151, II, 238–239, 214–215, III, 237–238; II, 334–335, III, 250, 251–252, 135–136, 59, 64, 259; FLHB I, 299–300, 410, 313, 306–307, 301–302, 318, 389; Szádeczky-Kardoss 1979, 14–35; 1980 10–42; 1998, 104, 105, 110, 159, 178, 180, 212; Beševliev 1981, 75–90.



the archaeological evidence on the Bulgars in Pannonia and proved that the later Latin sources favoring the Goths in Italy contain several misinterpretations and biases compared to contemporary records. Ennodius attributed the victory of Theoderic Strabo over the Bulgars in 480 to his patron Theodoric the Great—a conscious falsification of the original story, as was his triumph over the Bulgars after defeating the Gepids on his way to Italy in 488. This is an interpolation, as Sarmatians were mentioned in the contemporary sources instead of the Bulgars. In conclusion, the Bulgars of Pannonia in the 5th–6th centuries were the product of poetic fantasy without historical value.<sup>837</sup> This is corroborated by Iordanes, who placed the homeland of the Bulgars above the Black Sea in the mid-6th century, and Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor, who enumerated the Bulgars among the peoples living north of the Caucasus at the time.<sup>838</sup>

Both authors also preserved information on the Onogurs. Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor was familiar with the people called *Onāgur*, who wandered under tents. According to Iordanes, the *Hunugurs* were famous for the ermine trade and they inhabited the marshes of the Maeotis, then moved to Moesia, Thrace, and Dacia, and finally to the steppes north of the Black Sea. It is possible that given the context the name of the Onogurs replaced the name of the Huns or Goths.<sup>839</sup> Agathias noted in 555 that the *Colchis* in a campaign against Lazis (Lazica) had defeated the Onogurs, and therefore the locality was called *Onogoris*. Geographus Ravennas put the territory of *Onoguria* in the vicinity of the Maeotis and he noted that the Onogurs were able to obtain fish in abundance, which they ate without salt as the pagans did. Theophylactus Simocattes mentioned in his account of the beginning of Avar history that the Barsels, Onogurs and Sabirs were struck with panic when they saw the people called Var and Chunni because they identified them with the Avars. According to Menander Protector, the Avars forced first the Onogurs, then the Barsels, and finally the Sabirs to submit between 558 and 560. In 576, the Byzantine diplomat Valentine visited the court of the Western Türk Kaghan, Turxathos, who made a boast of his triumph over the Alans and Onogurs in spite of the fact that these peoples were fearless and possessed great military strength. The next piece of data is in a list of Byzantine bishoprics dated to the mid-8th century. The bishop of the Onogurs was enumerated among the bishops under the jurisdiction of the Crimean Gothic Metropolitane. The bishoprics can be located between the Crimean Peninsula and the Volga north of the Caucasus on the

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837 Bóna 1981, 79–97.

838 Czeglédý 1971, 136.

839 Moravcsik 1930, 61–62; Romašov 1992–1994, 221.

basis of the names on the list. Thus, the Onogurs must have inhabited the region east of the Maeotis bordered by the Sabirs and Alans from the 460s until the mid-8th century and engaged in fishing and fur-trading.<sup>840</sup>

The Kutrigurs and Utigurs were first recorded in the 540s on both banks of the Don River. In 547/8, a Crimean Gothic delegation visited Constantinople and informed the Byzantines of the legend of the mythical stag of the Kutrigurs and Utigurs. Two brothers who chased a stag represented the two peoples. Following the stag, they found a way through the Maeotis and after crossing the Don they defeated the Goths. A similar story was recorded about the Huns. After their victory over the Goths, the Utigurs retreated and lived east of the Don, while the Kutrigurs settled on its western bank. Although the Byzantines paid an annual tribute to the Kutrigurs, the latter often sacked Byzantine provinces. The Gepids entered into an alliance with the Kutrigurs against their neighbours, the Langobards in the Carpathian Basin, who turned to Byzantium in response in 550/1. The Kutrigurs sent an army of 12,000 to the Gepids under the command of Chinialon. As the peace treaty between the Gepids and Langobards would remain valid for another year, the Gepids led the army of the Kutrigurs through their land against Byzantium. The Kutrigurs plundered the territory as far as Thessalonica and Constantinople. Emperor Justinian sent a delegation to Sandilchos, the king of the Utigurs, with precious gifts and a pledge of an annual tribute, and the envoy managed to persuade him to attack the Kutrigurs. He crossed the Don together with a Crimean Gothic army 2,000 strong, defeated the Kutrigur army that had been left behind at home, and took many of their women and children as captives. More than ten thousand Byzantine prisoners of war made use of the favorable opportunity to escape from the land of the Kutrigurs and return to imperial territory. Justinian then informed the army of the Kutrigurs in the Balkans of the Utigur triumph and made them a peace offering of a sizeable sum. The raiding army accepted the treaty and returned home in haste. Finally, two thousand families migrated under Sinnion from the devastated country of the Kutrigurs to Byzantine territory. They were settled in Thrace and served as auxiliary troops in the imperial army. Sandilchos grew indignant at this policy and sent an envoy with the reproach below. The emperor settled the defeated enemy in his country, provided a better position for them than his own allies had, and sent the Utigurs a propitiatory gift of gold.

In 558, Justinian again urged Sandilchos to destroy the Kutrigurs and attack Zabergan, their new king, since he feared a new assault. Sandilchos responded

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840 Moravcsik 1930, 61–66, 1967, 254–257; Szádeczky-Kardoss 1970, 902–906.

in the following way: the Kutrigurs speak the same language as the Utigurs and have similar dwellings, clothing and way of life; moreover, they are also of the same descent though they submit to their own king. It is, therefore, wrong to extirpate them. Their horses may be taken away to prevent them raiding Byzantium. Thus, the attack on the Utigurs was limited to the taking of their livestock. The success of the campaign was possibly dubious, for a large Kutrigur army crossed the frozen Danube the following year. A small number of troops reached Thracian Chersonese and Thermophylai. The main body under Zabergan defeated the Byzantine army sent against them and the famous general Belizar had serious difficulty in preventing them penetrating to Constantinople. The Byzantine emperor informed the king of the Utigurs that he had given their annual tribute to the Kutrigurs and, if he was sufficiently strong, he could wrest it from them. Sandilchos raided the land of the Kutrigurs, defeated the army of Zabergan on the lower Danube, and laid hold of their booty and the ransom paid for the Byzantine captives. As a consequence, a fierce internecine war broke out between them, weakening both sides and facilitating the advance of the Avars, who conquered the territory north of the Black Sea between 560 and 562. The Utigurs and Kutrigurs were then forced to submit to the Avars, as corroborated by later sources, and the Avar Kaghan claimed the Byzantine annual dues of the peoples now subjugated to him. In 568, the Avar Kaghan sent an army of 10,000 composed of the Kutrigurs across the Sava River against Dalmacia to sack the province, and he remarked that he was not concerned about his raiding auxiliaries' being annihilated. The fate of the Kutrigurs in the empire of Kuvrat is discussed later.<sup>841</sup>

The migration of about 463 was among the crucial events in the history of Eastern Europe. At the beginning of the 6th century, another nomadic tribal confederacy called the Sabirs arrived in the Caucasian steppe area. As they controlled the eastern and central regions of the Northern Caucasus and became involved in the ongoing struggle between Byzantium and Sassanid Iran for the dominion in the Caucasus, they must have had their dwelling places near the two strategic passes (Dariel and Derbent) of the Caucasus.<sup>842</sup> Having appeared in Eastern Europe in the 550s, the Avars first subdued the Sabirs and Onogurs in the Northern Caucasus and then the Utigurs and Kutrigurs living north of the Black Sea. They reached the lower Danube by 562. The establishment of the Türk Empire led to the western migration of the Avars.

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841 Moravcsik 1930, 104–109; Szádeczky-Kardoss 1970, 516–520; Beševliev 1981, 95–99; Romašov 1994, 209–218.

842 Moravcsik 1958 I, 67–69; Golden 1992, 104–106.

When the Türks entered diplomatic negotiations with Byzantium, one of the questions was the Avar migration. The Türks considered the Avars their fugitive slaves. The Avars became aware of the Türk threat and were forced to search for a new place to dwell. As the Byzantine fleet prevented the Avars crossing the Danube, they formed an alliance with the Langobards against the Gepids. The Avars entered the Carpathian Basin in 567 and after defeating the Gepids settled east of the Danube. The Langobards left for Italy in 568, so the Avars took possession of their territory in Pannonia,<sup>843</sup> while the Türks conquered territory as far as the Crimean Peninsula in the 570s and forced the Alans and the Onogurs to submit to them. As a by-product of the family feud within the Türks' ruling clan, they lost the Crimea in the 590s.<sup>844</sup> In 602 the Avars launched an attack against the Antes, who inhabited the middle Dnieper and Dniester and were confederates of Byzantium and the Türks. The conquest of the Antes won the Avars their former sphere of influence in the territory north of the Black Sea. As the Chinese sources give information on a successful revolt of the western *T'ieh-lê* against the Türks, the Byzantine and Chinese data may reflect the same events.<sup>845</sup>

The sources present incomplete and confusing accounts of the history of Kuvrat's empire, which played a decisive role in Eastern Europe in the 7th century. Even its denomination is debated. The empire is called Great Bulgar (*Palatia Bulgaria*, *Magna Bulgaria*) in the literature, which is a western (Byzantine) tradition. The term can be understood as formed on the name of the earlier land of the Danubian Bulgars by analogy with the pair *Scythia minor* and *Scythia maior*. Kuvrat's empire is referred to under the name Onogur-Bulgar. Agathon used this form of the ethnonym for the Danubian Bulgars when they attacked Byzantium in 713. On the other hand, Patriarch Nicephorus mentioned Kuvrat as the ruler of the Onogundurs and referred to his empire as Onogundur-Bulgar. According to a later Byzantine source, the Onogundurs crossed the Danube between 668 and 685. The Hebrew sources also recorded the name Onogundur in connection with the same events. The Muslim authors were familiar with the Danubian Bulgars by another name, *W.n.nd.r* (<Onogundur). The old Hungarian name for Belgrade was *Nándorfehérvár* 'white fortress of the *Nándor*,' which was sometimes called *Bolgárfehérvár* 'white fortress of the Danubian Bulgars.' The form *Nándor* may also derive from the form *Onogundur*. Moravcsik identified the name Onogur with the Onogundurs, and the

843 Szádeczky 1998, 11–35; Pohl 1988, 18–57.

844 Szédeczky-Kardoss 1986, 155–162.

845 Golden 1992, 244; Farkas 2001, 61–65.

latter might be a Bulgar-Turkic or external designation of the Onogurs.<sup>846</sup> Based on Agathon's account, Beševliev rejected the identification of the Onogurs with the Onogundurs.<sup>847</sup> The connection of the two ethnonyms and their historical background will be discussed later. Three ethnic groups would dominate the entire history of Kuvrat's empire: the Onogundurs, Bulgars, and Kutrigurs.

In 602, the Avars reconquered the peoples living north of the Black Sea. The Bulgar List of Princes containing the names of the Danube Bulgar dynasty begins with Avitochol and Irnik, who can be identified with the famous ruler of the Huns, Attila, and his son. The next person, Gostun, acted as regent for two years, whereupon Kour't (Kuvrat) ruled for sixty years. Gostun must have been the representative of the Avar Kaghan. He has been linked to Organas of the Byzantine sources, who was Kuvrat's nephew, and it formed part of his policy to send Kuvrat to Constantinople, where he spent some years in the Imperial court and accepted baptism in 618–619. The Byzantine interest in seeking a confederacy north of the Black Sea can be explained by the long-lasting war with Persia, while Organas tried to counterbalance his dependency on the Avar ruler, who demanded auxiliary troops. The Bulgar units took part in the siege of Thessalonica in 618 and that of Constantinople in 626. The futile siege of Constantinople and the successful fight for freedom by the Wendic Slav ruler Samo shattered the position of the Avar Kaghanate in 623. As a consequence, after the death of the Avar Kaghan in 632, both an Avar and a Bulgar candidate claimed the throne. As mentioned earlier, the Avars defeated the Bulgars, who fled to Bavaria and were slaughtered there. These events have recently been linked with the account of Patriarch Nicephorus, who stated that Kuvrat, the ruler of the Onogundurs, rebelled against the Avar Kaghan and expelled his men. He sent an envoy to Constantinople and entered into an alliance with Heraclius, who gave him the title *Patricius* as well as many precious gifts. The events can be reconstructed in the following way: Kuvrat took advantage of the declining power of the Avar dynasty to organize a rebellion and seize the throne of the Kaghan at the beginning of the 630s, but the Avars managed to preserve their position only in the Carpathian Basin.<sup>848</sup>

Kuvrat founded an independent realm with the assistance of Byzantium. Its geographical extent can be determined by the following sources. The Armenian Ananias of Shirak wrote his geographical work in about 680 and enumerated the Bulgar groups: *kup'i-Bulgar*, *duč'i-Bulgar*, *olxontor-Bulgar*, *č'dar-Bulgar*. The

846 Moravcsik 1930, 73; Minorsky 1937, 465–471.

847 Beševliev 1981, 148, note 14.

848 Moravcsik 1930, 71–72; Beševliev 1981, 149–150, 481–497; Bóna 1981, 105–107; Szádeczky-Kardoss 1998, 212–213.

first elements of the ethnonyms are designations of rivers which empty into the Black Sea. The *kup'i* can be identified with the Kuban River, but the Bug River has also been considered. The term *olxontor* seems to be an ethnonym from Onogundur. Theophanes Confessor and Patriarch Nicephorus preserved an account of the story of Kuvrat and his five sons. The original report can be dated to the end of the 7th century and begins with the geographical setting of Great Bulgaria.<sup>849</sup> The Bulgars' dwelling place was situated on the River Kuphis, which is identical with the Kuban River. The borders of Kuvrat's empire mark out a large territory, as the allied Kotrag, the embodiment of the Kutrigurs, lived on the West Bank of the Don and other Bulgar tribes were able to nomadize in regions further to the west. The discovery and identification of Kuvrat's grave in the village of Malaya Pereshchepina was a turning point. Three signet rings were found in the grave with the following Greek inscription: *Khobratoi patrikoi*. The village is situated on the Vorskla River, one of the Dnieper's eastern tributaries halfway between Kiev and the Black Sea on the fringe of the steppe zone.<sup>850</sup> On the basis of this grave, Kuvrat's empire was located either between the Kuban and Don or between the Dnieper and Dniester.<sup>851</sup>

Kuvrat was on close and friendly terms with the Byzantine emperor Heraclius during his reign. Thus, after the death of the emperor (641), Kuvrat aided the party of his patron in the struggle for succession to the throne, but his opponent, Constans II, prevailed. Kuvrat died during his reign between 641 and 668. According to the Bulgar List of Princes, Gostun was a regent for two years and then Kuvrat ruled for sixty. The regency of Gostun was dated to between 603 and 605, and consequently Kuvrat must have held power from 605 to 665.<sup>852</sup> Due to the chronological ambiguity of the List of Princes, we have no precise timeframe for his reign: the date of Kuvrat's death is put between 650 and 665. The author of the account of Kuvrat's empire preserved by Theophanes Confessor and Patriarch Nicephorus described the geographical location of the empire, then the death of Kuvrat, and finally told the story of his five sons, who, having split up, each took with him his own share of the people in spite of their father's injunction. The eldest, (Bat) Baian, remained in his land; the second, Kotrag, crossed the Don and settled there; the fourth son moved to Pannonia and became a subject of the Avar Kaghan; the fifth son wandered to Italy, took

849 FGHB III, 260–263, 295; Moravcsik 1930, 70–73; Lauterbach 1967, 537–620; Szádeczky-Kardoss 1998, 218–219.

850 Werner 1984; Bálint 1988, 377–389; Zalesskaya 1997; Róna-Tas 2000, 3–7.

851 Romašov 1992–1994, 241–245; Róna-Tas 2000, 19.

852 Pritsak 1955, 36, 76.

up residence in Pentapolis of Ravenna, and paid tribute to the Byzantines. The third son, called Asparuch, crossed the Dnieper and Dniester and took possession of the Danube estuary.

After the sons had scattered, the Khazars came from Bersilia and conquered the peoples as far as the Black Sea. Baian was also subjugated and forced to pay tribute to the Khazars. The Armenian and Hebrew sources reversed the chronological order of the events. Ananias of Shirak said that Asparuch, having been defeated by the Khazars, fled from the Mountains of the Bulgars to an island of the Danube and drove the Avars from there. The author of king Joseph's letter recorded that although the people of *W.n.nt.r* (Onogundur) outnumbered the Khazars, the Khazars pursued them to the Danube.<sup>853</sup> Two interpretations can be considered: Internal conflicts broke out among the sons of Kuvrat, and they divided and dismembered the realm. The Khazars obtained knowledge of the disintegration and launched an attack, or else it was the assault of the Khazars that brought an end to Kuvrat's empire. A combination of both interpretations may be correct: the temporary weakening of the empire caused by the succession to the throne created a favorable situation for the Khazars to declare war against Kuvrat's empire. The Khazar conquest can be dated from 660 to 670, as the Bulgar List of Princes recorded a three-year rule by Bezmer (i.e. 665–668) after Kuvrat (605–665?), and Bezmer is identified with Baian. Certainly, Asparuch had lived in the Danube estuary for some time; then he defeated the Byzantine army in 679, crossed the Danube and took possession of the territory between the Danube and the Balkan Mountains. Thus, the Khazars must have made the assault before 679.<sup>854</sup>

Only three sons of Kuvrat are named in the account preserved in the works by Theophanes Confessor and Patriarch Nicephorus. Asparuch is authentic beyond doubt. Kotrag seems to be the heroic eponym of the Kutrigur people. Baian can be identified with the founder and the first Kaghan of the Avar Empire. This means that two names were apocryphal interpolations.<sup>855</sup> The account contains other literary reminiscences and legendary elements and misinterpretations. The crossing of the Don by Kotrag is among these, for according to other, trustworthy sources, the Kutrigurs lived on the western bank of the Don from the mid-6th century.

Crossing the Dnieper and Dniester, Asparuch arrived in the lower Danube, where he and his people first had to raid the Avar outposts before they were able

853 FGHB III, 260–263, 295; Szádeczky-Kardoss 1998, 218–219; Lauterbach 1967, 537–620; Beševliev 1981, 149–155; Romašov 1992–1994, 246.

854 Lauterbach 1967, 611–613; Beševliev 1981, 153–154; Romašov 1994, 249.

855 Ligeti 1986, 350.

to settle there. The Byzantines used all the diplomatic means at their disposal to prevent the Bulgars penetrating the lines of the Danube, but these were to no avail as an Arabic fleet laid siege to Constantinople five times between 673 and 677. After successfully repulsing the enemy, Constantine IV personally led his army against the Bulgars and the Byzantine fleet sailed up the Danube in 680. Asparuch managed to defend himself; moreover, his troops launched a counterattack and crossed the river. He thus conquered the region south of the Danube. The Byzantines were able to secure the line of the Balkan Mountains and admitted the conquest in a peace treaty in 681. This marked the birth of a new state in the Balkans, Danubian Bulgaria. A Slavic population inhabited this territory. The tribal confederacy called the Seven Tribes resisted the Bulgars, but they were defeated and settled on the western fringe of the state opposite the Avars. The Slavic tribe of the *Sever* submitted without opposition and was positioned to protect the eastern passes of the Balkan Mountains. The Bulgar tribes of Asparuch ensured the political framework, but the majority of the inhabitants spoke Slavic. This situation led to the conquerors' assimilation in the long run. This was supported by the conversion of Boris to Byzantine Christianity, first in 865, then finally in 870. The Danubian Bulgars joined the sphere of Byzantine influence with the conquest of the Balkans, and their conversion represented the final stage of their gradual adoption of the new civilization. As a consequence, the Danubian Bulgars would lose their Turkic language by the 10th century.<sup>856</sup>

The fourth and fifth sons of Kuvrat were not recorded in the sources mentioned above, but the fifth son can be identified with Alzeco, mentioned by Paulus Diaconus. Alzeco, the prince of the Bulgars, moved to Ravenna, a Byzantine province in Italy, with his people. Then he wandered to the king of the Langobards, Grimoald (662–671), to offer his services. Grimoald sent him to his son in Beneventum. He and his people were settled near Campobasso of today and preserved their language until the age of Paulus Diaconus († 799). Alzeco might be identified with the Bulgar leader Alcocius of the Fredegar chronicle mentioned above. This notion, however, must surmount a chronological contradiction, as Alcocius had escaped to Bavaria in 632 after having been defeated in Pannonia in the fight for the Avar Kaghanate. Amidst the scattering and slaughter in Bavaria, the Wendic Wallucum gave asylum to Alcocius and the seven hundred families. If the two stories refer to the same events, then the Bulgars would have moved to Italy from the region of the Slavic Wends.<sup>857</sup>

856 Beševliev 1981, 173–298; Fine 1983, 66–72.

857 Lauterbach 1967, 599–603; Beševliev 1981, 156–158.



On the basis of the data in *Miracula S. Demetrii* and the Inscription of Madara, the fourth son could be Kuber. Kuber migrated with his people to the land of the Avars and submitted to their Kaghan, who appointed him governor of Sirmium, a region inhabited by Byzantine prisoners of war. Kuber moved here with his retinue and his court, but his people had to be left behind. After a short period, he revolted against the Kaghan and moved to Macedonia with his Byzantine, Bulgar, Avar, Gepid and Slavic dependents. Mauros, one of his confidants, attempted to take possession of the Byzantine town of Thessalonica, but this plan failed. Similarly to Asparuch, Kuber took up residence in Macedonia but could not gain independence from Byzantium. With the permission of the Byzantine emperor, Kuber and his dependants settled north of Thessalonica as confederates of the emperor. These events occurred between 674 and 678. Byzantine emperor Justinian II regarded his father's treaty as invalid and marched against them in 688, but after initial victories he suffered a catastrophic defeat. The successor to Kuvrat, Tervel, assisted the emperor in regaining his throne, yet his uncle in Thessalonica distrusted Justinian II and refused to come to his aid. Tervel's uncle must have been Kuber. These Bulgars were mentioned several times in the 10th–11th centuries before they were completely assimilated by the local Slavs.<sup>858</sup>

The fourth and fifth sons of Kuvrat spent some time in the Carpathian Basin. The archaeological material in the Carpathian Basin changed in the 670s, and the following thirty to forty years have been denominated the Middle Avar period in the archaeological literature. The change in archaeological data is connected with the appearance of a new people from the empire of Kuvrat.<sup>859</sup> The majority of the sources continued designating the people as Avars, but various forms of the ethnonym Onogur are also attested. The Avars were called *Wandali* in the 790s by some Latin authors—a conscious misinterpretation of the ethnonym *Wangar*. This name was preserved in the form *Wangarorum marcha* from 860. In addition, approximately sixty personal names have been collected from Latin sources in the 8th and 9th centuries that derive from the ethnonym Onogur. These Onogurs could have come in the 670s from the empire of Kuvrat.<sup>860</sup> Another form of this ethnonym *Ungri*, *Ugri* was applied to the Magyars north of the Black Sea in the Greek, Latin and Slavic sources after the 830s. This external designation of the Hungarians is of Slavic origin

858 Szádeczky-Kardoss 1971, 473–477; 1998, 219–220; Beševliev 1981, 159–172.

859 Bálint 1989, 233–235.

860 Olajos 1969, 87–90; Bóna 1981, 107–111; Király 1990, 221–225.

and was borrowed by the western languages after the Magyars conquered the Carpathian Basin in 895 (English: *Hungary*, German: *Ungarn*; French: *Hongrie*).<sup>861</sup>

The historical background of the identical name of the people who moved to Pannonia in the 670s and that of the early Hungarians is debated. Gyula László concluded that the Onogurs who came to Pannonia in the 670s were Magyars. This theory is called the double conquest: a first Magyar conquest in the 7th century and a second in 895. According to another view, the late-Avar Onogurs retreated to the north of the Black Sea after the fall of the Avar state and entered into an alliance with the Magyar tribes there in the 830s. This confederation then reconquered the Carpathian Basin in 895.<sup>862</sup> Both constructions suffer from serious contradictions. In any case, the ethnonym Onogur was applied to the Magyars who migrated to the former territory of Kuvrat's empire and to those tribes that moved to Avar territory from among Kuvrat's peoples in the 670s. However, the term Onogundur was connected with the Danubian Bulgars in the Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Muslim sources. This designation must have derived from the Khazars and Magyars.

Kotrag personified the Kutrigurs as arising from among the sons of Kuvrat. The Kutrigurs did not cross the Danube as stated, but dwelt there in the 7th century and were probably conquered by the Khazars too as the Khazars took possession of a part of the Crimea c. 695.<sup>863</sup>

The people of the eldest son, Baian, were subjugated by the Khazars. The town *W.n.d.r* on the northwestern shore of the Caspian Sea derived its name from this group. The Arabs attacked the town in 722 after the capture of the early Khazar capital, Balanjar. The Black Bulgars were mentioned in the Greek and Slavic sources in the 10th century. They were identified with the remnants of Bulgars on the steppes of the Pontus or with the Volga Bulgars.<sup>864</sup> Attempts have been made to connect the second element of the modern Qarachay-Balkar with *Bulgar*, which might preserve the role of the Bulgars in the ethnogenesis of the Qarachay-Balkars.

The Volga Bulgars are considered the remnants of the peoples of Kuvrat's empire who remained behind in their ancient dwelling places and whose empire was located in the Volga-Kama region from the beginning of the 10th century until the Mongol invasion (1236). The Volga Bulgars embraced Islam officially in 922, and theirs was the only Muslim state in Eastern Europe before

861 Róna-Tas 1999, 282–287.

862 Pritsak 1965, 383–389; Boba 1982–1983, 23–41; Ligeti 1986, 351–353; Kristó 1996, 61–63.

863 Moravcsik 1930, 74–75; Lauterbach 1967, 591–595.

864 Golden 1992, 246; Róna-Tas 2000, 11–12.

the age of the Golden Horde. Its stability and very existence was due to its role in mediating trade between the Islamic world and Eastern Europe.<sup>865</sup>

The Turkic-speaking tribes of the Volga Bulgar confederacy (*Bulghār, Āskāl, Barsūlā~Bersil, Suwār~Sabir, Baranjar~Balanjar*) migrated from the steppe belt to the Volga-Kama region, which is situated in the forest zone, and mixed with the local Finno-Ugric-speaking inhabitants. The date of the migration is debated, as no direct reference is made to it in the sources. According to the traditional view, in about 680 the tribes of the Volga Bulgars migrated north after the fall of Kuvrat's empire north of the Black Sea. However, our sources were aware that the elder son of Kuvrat remained at home with his people and submitted to the Khazars, while the rest of the inhabitants moved to the west. More reliable is the assumption of a later migration. The Arabic-Khazar wars took place in the Northern Caucasus in the first half of the 8th century and some tribes of Bulgars were forced to evacuate their southern settlements and move to the Volga-Kama region. The Volga Bulgars gained in political prestige from the beginning of the 9th century, when trade began to flourish between the Caliphate and the Khazar Kaghanate as the Khazars collected commercial goods (fur, slaves, wax and honey) from their subjects living in the northern forest zone. A new wave of migration is taken into account at the end of the 9th century, which is corroborated by archaeological, numismatic and linguistic data. This may be interrelated with the westward movement of the Pechenegs c. 895, which shattered the leading position of the Khazars in Eastern Europe.<sup>866</sup>

Reference was made to the Volga Bulgars by the Muslim writers from the beginning of the 10th century, when trade routes between the Muslim world and Eastern Europe shifted and the main route came from Transoxania, crossed the Kazakh steppe and the Volga-Kama region, and finally reached the north. The crisis of the Khazar Empire and new opportunities for trade prompted Almish, the second known ruler of the Volga Bulgars, to embrace Islam. The Caliph sent a delegation to him in 921–922. A member of the delegation, Ibn Faḍlān, reported on the journey in detail. The official conversion to Islam was a manifest act of hostility against the Jewish Kaghan of the Khazars; at the same time, it promoted the development of towns such as Bulgār and Suwār and the appearance of Volga Bulgar coinage.

In 965, Svyatoslav, ruler of Kiev, attacked the Volga Bulgars and Khazars. The Khazar state was annihilated, but the Volga Bulgars picked up the pieces

865 Shpilevskiy 1877; Smirnov 1953; Fahrutdinov 1984; Zimonyi 1990; Huzin 1997.

866 Zimonyi 1990; Kazakov 1992.

and developed a centre for commerce between the Caliphate and Eastern Europe.<sup>867</sup> Although the coinage of the Volga Bulgars was suspended for two centuries from the end of the 10th century, trade flourished, as attested by archaeological excavations and evidence provided by the eyewitness Arabic traveler, Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī.

The 10th–11th centuries saw peaceful trade relations between the Volga Bulgars and Kievan Rus. However, the principality of Vladimir-Suzdal consolidated its power on the middle Volga in the 12th century and attempted to monopolize the Volga trade, which led to frequent hostilities. The major campaigns of the Rus started in 1164, when the Volga Bulgar town of *Bryahimov* (*Ibrahim*) was captured. It was identified with Bulgar, a small village today in the vicinity of the Volga-Kama confluence; its Russian name is *Bolgary* but *Bulgar* in Tatar. This expedition compelled the Volga Bulgars to transfer the capital to *Bilär* (Russian: *Bilyarsk*, Tatar: *Biler*) on the Maliy Cheremshan River in the centre of the realm. In 1184, the Rus with Kipchak auxiliaries besieged the new capital, called *Velikiy Gorod* in Russian (Great Town = Bilyarsk). Finally, the Rus succeeded in taking *Oshel*, the most important Volga Bulgar town on the right bank of the Volga. The Mordvinians who dwelt between the principality of Vladimir-Suzdal and the Volga Bulgars gradually came under the control of the Rus. This is corroborated by the Rus founding of Nizhniy Novgorod on the Volga-Oka confluence in 1221.<sup>868</sup>

The Mongols first attacked the Volga Bulgars immediately after their victory in the battle of Kalka in 1223. They were then entrapped and defeated by the Volga Bulgars. The Mongols made minor raids against the southern and eastern borders of the Volga Bulgar realm in 1229 and 1232. At the same time, the Russian principality of Vladimir-Suzdal posed a threat to the Volga Bulgars from the west. The Hungarian Dominican monk Julianus, visiting them in 1235, was the first westerner to inform the European courts of the approaching Mongol invasion against the west. The Mongols launched a war on Europe in 1236, and the first victim of this campaign was the empire of the Volga Bulgars.<sup>869</sup> They were integrated into the Golden Horde and played an important role in its commerce and culture. Bulgar (Rus. *Bolgary*), on the confluence of the Volga and Kama, became the center of the country. A large number of inscriptions were engraved on tombstones in the 13th–15th centuries in the Volga-Kama region bearing texts in Arabic with Turkic words, phrases, and

867 Valeev 1995; Huzin 1999; 2001.

868 Halikov, 1986.

869 Halikov, 1988.

even sentences. They are called Volga Bulgar inscriptions in the literature; however, a portion of the inscriptions is in a Chuvash-type Turkic language, while the others reflect a common Turkic dialect. The inscriptions with Chuvash-type Turkic characters were made only until the mid-14th century, whereas the other inscriptions continued to be produced. It can be concluded that those among the Volga Bulgars who spoke a Chuvash-type language died out or were assimilated by the Kipchaks, who moved into this territory in the 13th century.

The two terms *N.nd.r* ~ *Nandur* and *W.n.nd.r* ~ *Onundur* may reflect variations of the same ethnonym in two different languages, or they might reflect corruption—perhaps a misinterpretation of the conjunctive. In any case, this name denoted the Danube Bulgars in the 9th–10th centuries. However, the ethnonym *Onogur* was applied to the Magyars in Slavic languages, a usage that was copied by their western neighbours and became the designation of the Magyars/Hungarians in most European languages, but it also appears in Muslim literature. The form *Unqult*<sup>870</sup> was used by two authors from Andalusia in the 10th century. Al-Mas‘ūdī recorded a joint Pecheneg-Magyar raid against Byzantium in 934, in which he used the designation *Nūk.rda* as one of the names of the Magyars, which Golden reconstructed as a form of *Onogur*.<sup>871</sup> The Muslim authors of the 11th–13th centuries applied variants of this foreign name of the Magyars/Hungarians.<sup>872</sup>

### *Danube Bulgars*

As for the Bulgars belonging to Rūm, the Muslim author understood the cultural and religious influence of Byzantium in the sense that Obolensky used the expression ‘Byzantine Commonwealth,’ the region where Byzantine cultural, political and religious traditions prevailed.<sup>873</sup>

Ibrāhīm ibn Waṣīf treated the Danube Bulgars under a different name: “As for the Burjān,<sup>874</sup> they are descended from the offspring of Yūnān ibn Yāfith. It

870 Ibrāhīm ibn Ya‘qūb, who was of Jewish origin, visited Prague in the 10th century and called the Magyars *Unquliyān* (Kowalski 1946, a 7, 52, 111–115, note 127; Elter 1997, 100). Al-Bakrī devoted a separate chapter to the *Unqulush*, who can be identified with Magyars living in the Carpathian Basin in the 10th century (Leeuwen, Ferre 1992, 490; Kmoskó 1/2, 257–258; Zimonyi 2001, 90).

871 Golden 1975, 21–35.

872 Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī: *Unqūriyya* (Bolsakov, Mongajt 1985, 54). Al-Idrīsī: *Unkariyya* (882), Yāqūt: *Hunkar* (МЕН 71; T. Lewicki: *Mađjar*: EI<sup>2</sup> V, 1012).

873 Obolensky 1971, 1–3.

874 The designation used for the Danube Bulgars; see Lewicki 1956, 24–27.

is a great and extensive empire. They wage war against the Rūm, the Ṣaḡāliba, the Khazars and the Turks. Their most powerful enemies are the Rūm.”<sup>875</sup> The name *Yūnān* comes from the Greek word *Ion* and designates the Greeks; the Biblical genealogy reflects the inclusion of the Danube Bulgars into the Greco-Roman world.<sup>876</sup> However, the hostility between the Danube Bulgars and Byzantines points to a later period, as there was a relatively long period of peace in Danube Bulgar-Byzantine relations between the death of Krum (814) and the accession of Simeon (893). The reign of Simeon (893–927) brought a change of armed confrontation and rivalry between the two powers that was reflected in the sources.<sup>877</sup>

According to the Balkhī tradition, the world was divided into four empires and the Christian peoples of Eastern Europe were assigned to Rūm, i.e. Byzantium. Al-Mas‘ūdī divided mankind into seven groups (*umma*): Persians, Chaldeans, Rūm, Libyans, Turks, Indians, and Chinese. “The third nation include the Yūnāniyūn (Greeks), the Rūm (Romans), the Ṣaḡāliba (Slavs), the Ifranja (Franks) and the peoples living in the adjoining area of *al-Jarbī*, i.e. the north. They have a language, and a king rules over them.”<sup>878</sup>

The baptism of the Danube Bulgars and their belonging to Byzantium might have motivated Martínez to add an interpretation to the translation of Gardīzī: “all are Orthodox or of Greek rite.”<sup>879</sup> The baptism of the Danube Bulgars was also a part of the struggle between Byzantium and the Papacy, the latter allied with the Franks, that the Bulgar ruler Boris intended to exploit for his own benefit. At the beginning of the 860s Boris allied with the Franks and also received missionaries from the Pope. Byzantium forced Boris to receive Christianity from Constantinople in 864 by the march of their army. Boris, dissatisfied with the rank of the Bulgar church in the ecclesiastical organization, as he claimed a sovereign patriarch, turned to Pope Nicholas I. who hastened to send his legates to him in 866. The dispute was over in 870 when the Synod of Constantinople subordinated Bulgaria to the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople.<sup>880</sup>

875 Kryukov 1983, 205; Kmoskó 1/2, 226; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 235. There is a parallel passage in the work of al-Bakrī: Kmoskó 1/2, 257; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 229–230.

876 Miquel 1975, 369.

877 Ostrogorsky 1963, 213–222; Obolensky 1971, 102–117.

878 BGA VIII, 83; Kmoskó 1/2, 208.

879 Martínez 1982, 160.

880 Ostrogorsky 1963, 191–192; Obolensky 1971, 83–94; Fine 1983, 113–131; Magyar 1982, 839–877.

Al-Bakrī definitely used two different sources when describing the conversion of the Danube Bulgars: “The Bulgars (*Bulqādīn* ~ *Bulqārīn*) embraced Christianity in the country of the Rūm when they besieged the city of Constantinople. The emperor spoke to them in a kind and humble way and tried to gain sympathy with rich gifts. One of his steps was that he gave his daughter to him as a wife, and she brought him to embrace Christianity. The author says: the report of Ibrāhīm proves that his conversion to Christianity happened after 300 Anno Hegira (912).<sup>881</sup> Others say that they converted to Christianity in the time of the emperor Basil (*B.sūs*),<sup>882</sup> and they have persisted in their Christianity to the present day.”<sup>883</sup> Ibrāhīm ibn Ya‘qūb is the author of the first half, while the end of the text was copied from the work of Hārūn ibn Yaḥyā (last quarter of the 9th century), who was a prisoner of war in Byzantium. The latter text has been preserved in the book of Ibn Rusta. It refers to the Slavs in general, but in reality it can be connected with the conversion of the peoples of the Balkans to Christianity. The beginning of the report contains the description of the events of the 910s–920s, when the struggle between the Byzantine and the Danube Bulgar rulers was carried out—not for the adoption of Christianity, however, but for the imperial throne.

As for the remark about the power relations between the Magyars and the Danube Bulgars, it deserves a special note, for Byzantine sources gave further information on the contacts between the two peoples. In 838 the Danube Bulgars made an alliance with the Magyars against the rebellion of the Macedonians settled north of the Danube. In 894 the Magyars raided the forces of the Bulgar ruler Simeon hired by the Byzantines and were counterattacked by Simeon, which was one of the causes of the Magyars moving to the Carpathian Basin.<sup>884</sup>

881 Under the terms of the peace treaty, the Bulgar ruler Peter married Mary, the granddaughter of Emperor Romanos in 927 (Obolensky 1971, 115–116).

882 Al-Bakrī drew this information from the itinerary of ibn Hārūn ibn Yaḥyā’s recorded by Ibn Rusta (BGA VII, 127; Kmoskó 1/1, 190–191). The name of the king *Bsūs* has been identified with the Bulgarian Prince Boris and the Byzantine Emperor Basil (867–886). The latter description does not refer to the Bulgars but rather to the Slavs in Western Balkan, and it is generally associated with the conversion of the Serbs and Croats in 877. Kowalski reconstructed *Basilyūs*; Kowalski 1946, 6.

883 Kowalski 1946, a 6, 51; Mishin 1996, 189; Geramb, Mackensen 1927, 15; Kmoskó 1/2, 245–246.

884 Tóth 1994, 71–78.

## 10 Etil and Danube

Gardīzī: (The names of) the two rivers (Jayḥūn) are Atil (Āt.l) and Dūnā. When the Magyars are on the banks of the river (Danube), they saw these N.nd.r.

Al-Marwazī: The names of the two rivers are Rūnā and Atil.

‘Awfī: One of them is called W.fā and the other is Atil. They are bigger than the Jayḥūn (Oxus).

Shukrallāh: One of them is called W.fā and the other is Atil. Both are bigger than the Jayḥūn (Oxus).

Shūkrallāh: One of them is called W.fā, the other Atil. Both are larger than the Jayḥūn and Sayḥūn.

Muḥammad Kātib: Their dwellings and quarters are between the two large rivers called W.qā and Atil. Both are larger than the Nile and Jayḥūn.

Ḥājī Khalīfa: one of them is *At.l* and the other is *T.n Ṣūyī*.

Gardīzī and Ḥājī Khalīfa mentioned the river Atil first and then the name of the other river, whereas al-Marwazī and his followers put the name of the Danube first and the Atil second. The change of order by Gardīzī might have been influenced by the next sentence stating that the Hungarians could see the N.nd.r, i.e. the Danube Bulgars, on the bank of the river. Martinez emended Gardīzī’s text in two places: *bar kanār-i \*Dūnā bāshand īn n.nd.rīyān \*baqīrand*, “When the Hungarians are on the banks of the Duna, they capture these Nandurs” instead of *bar kanār-i rūd bāshand īn n.nd.rīyān ba-bīband*.<sup>885</sup> However, the reliability of this interpretation is dubious, as this section has been preserved only in the work of Gardīzī.

The comparison of the rivers with the Jayḥūn in the work of ‘Awfī and Shukrallāh’s *Bahjat al-tawārīkh* was moved here from an earlier sentence; the original version is reflected in the books of al-Marwazī, Ibn Rusta, and Gardīzī treated under paragraph 8. The Turkish text of Shukrallāh contains an addition to the river Jayḥūn. The river Sayḥūn is also mentioned, which is the Arabic name for the Syr Darya.<sup>886</sup> Muḥammad Kātib mentioned the Nil, i.e. the River Nile, before the Jayḥūn.<sup>887</sup> In both cases, the additional river name is a later interpolation of no historical value.

There have been several attempts to identify the two rivers. According to Kuun, Atil meant the Dnieper and the other name the Danube.<sup>888</sup> Kmoskó

885 Martinez 1982, 160.

886 Miquel 1980, 221, note 5.

887 J.H. Kramers, *al-Nil: EI<sup>2</sup> VIII*, 37–43.

888 Kuun 1900, 169–170, note 3.



assumed that the Magyars lived in the Carpathian Basin when al-Jayhānī wrote his book, and he claimed that the two rivers were the Danube and Tisza.<sup>889</sup> Czeglédý accepted the identification of Atil with the Don for historical and geographical reasons; however, for the other river he preferred one of tributaries of the Danube, one flowing into the lower Danube and rising in the East Carpathians, to the \*Duna, i.e. the Danube.<sup>890</sup> Nyitrai noted in connection with the Atil that both the Don and the Volga must be taken into consideration, and as for the other river, the Danube is the most acceptable opinion.<sup>891</sup>

### *Danube*

The two river names are preserved in various forms in the texts of the Jayhānī tradition. The reconstructed shape \*Duna has not survived in the manuscripts. Gardizī recorded *Dūbā* دوبا which can be emended to *Dūnā* by switching a diacritical point from below above the character: دونا *Dūnā*. Al-Marwazī's manuscript included an initial *r*, which is a typical corruption of the letter *d*, and the copyist omitted the diacritic determining the consonant in the middle of the word, giving the reading possibilities *b, n, t, y, th* (دونا ~ رونا\*). The late Persian and Turkish version *W.fā* (وفا), and from it the version *W.qā* (وقا), could easily derive from the form دونا *Dūnā* with the initial consonant omitted and the basic character of the consonant in the middle of word changed while preserving the diacritical point above it. Ḥājji Khalifa may have regarded the name of the river name as incomprehensible and inserted the designation of the Don of his time, i.e. *Ten suyī* 'River Don,' in his text.<sup>892</sup>

The author of the *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam* described the stream called *Rūtā* (روتا) in the chapter about the rivers: "Another river is the *Rūtā*, which rises from a mountain situated on the frontier between the Pechenegs, the Magyars (*Majgharī*), and the Rūs. Then it enters the Rūs limits and flows to the Ṣaqlāb. Then it reaches the town Khurdāb belonging to the Ṣaqlāb and is used in their fields and meadows."<sup>893</sup> In addition, mention of it occurs also in the description of the land of the Turkic Pechenegs: "... north of it, (the river) *Rūtā*,"<sup>894</sup> and it is mentioned in the chapter on the land of Rūs: "... south of it, the river *Rūtā*."<sup>895</sup> Minorsky identified this form of the name with Gardizī's variant *Dūbā*, which

889 Kmoskó 1/1, 208, note 830.

890 Czeglédý MŰT, 42–44.

891 Nyitrai 1996, 69–72.

892 Ligeti 1986, 173.

893 Minorsky 1939, 76.

894 Minorsky 1939, 101; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 207.

895 Minorsky 1939, 159; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 212.

designates the river Danube. Nevertheless, the interpretation of the river in the *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam* is difficult and contradictory. First, this river flows in a western direction. The mountain forming a border among the Turkic Pechenegs, i.e. a people on the Ural River, and the Magyars living east of the Volga and the Rūs, is hardly localizable according to our geographical knowledge. Minorsky reconstructed \**Ūqā* (وقا), i.e. the river Oka on the basis of the geographical context and the form of the script and suggested that the Arabic paraphrase originated from the confusion of two different rivers (Duna and Oka وقا~دونا) in the central part of Eastern Europe, presumably inventing a fictional river that can be identified with several rivers of the region.<sup>896</sup> Consideration was also paid to the possibility that the name referred to the Dnieper.<sup>897</sup> The author of the *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam* mentioned that the river flows past a Slavic town called *Khurdāb*, which is mentioned as the capital of the Slavic ruler in the Slavic chapter of Ibn Rusta, Gardīzī, and al-Marwazī. The identification is rather uncertain, but it is mostly associated with the residence of Svatopluk or with a larger city of the Western Slavs.<sup>898</sup> The whole confusion can be explained by the relocation of the mountain forming the border among the Pechenegs, the Magyars, and the Rūs, which in the 10th century obviously could only have been the Eastern Carpathians, to the territory between the middle reaches of the Volga and the Ural Mountains in the geographical conception of the author of the *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam*.

The Danube was mentioned by al-Mas‘ūdī among the names of the rivers flowing into the Black Sea in his work *Tanbih*, in the forms *Dnbh* or *Rynh* (رینه~دنبه).<sup>899</sup> This section has already been quoted in the discussion of paragraph 8, but al-Mas‘ūdī later recorded the Slavic designation of the river in the forms *D.bānī* or *D.yānī* (دبانی~دیانی),<sup>900</sup> which was mentioned above in detail in connection with the comparison of the rivers with the Amu Darya. The former form *D.n.b.h* can be read as *Danubah*, which corresponds to Greek *Δανούβιος* or Latin *Danuvius*. They can be derived ultimately from the Scythian form \**Dānavya*. This form appeared later in Gothic as \**Dōnavi*, which was borrowed into Slavic. The old Slavic was *Dounav*, which changed to *Dunav* in Bulgarian and Serbian and *Dunay* in Czech, Slovak, Polish and Russian. The Hungarian *Duna* was borrowed from the latter form.<sup>901</sup> It is possible to read *D.n.b.h* as *Dunabah*,

896 Minorsky 1939, 217.

897 Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 207–208, note 141.

898 Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 79, note 135.

899 BGA VIII, 67, note o.

900 BGA VIII, 183, note u.

901 Kiss, FNESz 1, 395; Fasmer 1986, 1, 552–553.

reflecting the South Slavic form. The latter form is confirmed by the second datum, where al-Mas'ūdī himself points to the (south) Slavonic form *Dunābī*.

Ibn Ḥayyān mentioned the river in his description of the country of the Magyars, which formed part of the passage about the Magyar expedition of 942 in Andalusia: “Their settlements lie on the river Duna (Ṭūna طونة).”<sup>902</sup> This form of the name is identical with that used by the Ottomans from the 14th century,<sup>903</sup> and is almost the same as the form *Ṭūnā* that al-'Umarī recorded in the geographic description of the Golden Horde in the 14th century.<sup>904</sup>

Both the shorter and longer versions of the Hebrew letter of the Khazar ruler Joseph contain the name of the river Danube in connection with the westward migration of the *W.n.nt.r*/Danube Bulgars. The Khazars pursued them until they forced them to cross the great river called the Danube. They still live on the Danube near Constantinople.<sup>905</sup> Kokovcov has noted that *Rūnā* occurs twice in the shorter variant; however, the longer description contains the correct form *Dūnā*.<sup>906</sup> The Hebrew source reflects the same forms as the Jayhānī tradition.

Al-Idrīsī compiled his work in Sicily in the middle of the the 12th century and described the Danube in detail; he wrote its name as *D.nū*. He included passages on the source of the Danube, the section of the river lying in the Carpathian Basin, and the lower Danube.<sup>907</sup>

Ibn Sa'īd<sup>908</sup> was a historian and geographer of Andalusia who composed a *Geographia* in the mid-13th century. His work was an important source for Abū'l-Fidā'. Ibn Sa'īd knew the Danube: “This river (the river of Paris, the Seine) springs from the great mountain of *D.n.būs* (دينوس ~ AF: *D.n.yūs* دنيوس). In the north, this is called the Malīḥah Mountain. The river *D.n.būs* (AF: *D.n.yūs*) comes from its eastern part. It is said that it is bigger than the Nile and the Jayḥūn. The river is famous as *D.nūbā*: but the Turks call it *Ṭ.nā* (طنا AF *Drbā* دربا). There are many cities and cultivated lands on both of its banks and its islands as far as its estuary into the sea of Constantinople.”<sup>909</sup> The river name is found in two different forms: *D.n.būs* probably reflects a Latin form *Danuuius*,

902 Elter 1996, 178, 268, line 7; 2009, 57; Chalmeta 1979, 482.

903 B. Lory, *Ṭuna*: E1<sup>2</sup> X, 623–624.

904 Lech 1968, Arabic 75–76, 142.

905 Kohn 1881, 31–32; Kokovcov 1932, 75, 92; see Spitzer, Komoróczy 2003, 96, note 31.

906 Kokovcov 1932, 92, note 2.

907 Al-Idrīsī 746, 875, 878, 883–885; Jaubert 1999, 369, 431, 433–434, 437–440; Elter 1985, 57, 58–59.

908 Abū-l-Ḥasan Nūr ad-Dīn 'Alī ibn Sa'īd was born in Granada in 1214 and died in Tunis in 1274 (Kmoskó 1/1, 88–89; Ch. Pellat, *Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī*: E1<sup>2</sup> III, 926).

909 Ibn Sa'īd, 193; Géographie d' Aboulféda, 202.

whereas *Ṭ.nā* can be explained as from Hungarian *Duna*, as claimed by the author himself. The comparison of the Danube with the Nile and Amu Darya is a parallel of Muḥammad Kātib's report. Ibn Sa'īd mentioned the river in his description of Hungary: "The first you will encounter in the land of the Bāshqird, they are the Turks. They live in the neighborhood of al-Almāniyīn (the Germans) in hereditary agreement. They are Muslims as a Turkmān legist made known to them the religious law of Islam.<sup>910</sup> Most of their cultivated lands are on the great river *D.nūbā* (دوبا ~ Abū'l-Fidā': Dūmā دوما)."<sup>911</sup> The latter form of the geographical name may be explained from either Latin or new Latin.

Abū'l-Fidā' mentioned the Danube several times in his geographical work written in 1321: "The river of *Ṭunā*. It is huge and much bigger than the river after the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates. It flows from the outermost edge of the north toward the south. It flows through along the eastern side of the mountain that is called Qashqā Ṭāgh. Its meaning is 'difficult mountain' because it is difficult to climb. This is a mountain range, where such various pagan peoples live as *al-awlāq*, *al-sarb*, *al-mājār*<sup>912</sup> and others. This mighty river flows past the eastern side of the afore-mentioned mountains, and the more it flows south, the closer it comes to the sea of Niṭash (Pontus), which is called the Qırım-sea (Sea of Crimea, Black Sea) in our time. Approaching it the river arrives at the area which is located between the mountains and the sea. Finally, the afore-mentioned river *Ṭunā* flows into the sea north of the city called Ṣaqjī."<sup>913</sup> This is supplemented by the following description: "The city of Ṣaqjī is a town of medium size. It is located at the mouth of the river *Ṭunā* (where it flows) into the sea of Niṭash (Pontus, Black Sea), on a plane at the foothills of the Qashqā Ṭāgh. Ṣaqjī is five days from Aqcha-Karman.<sup>914</sup> It is twenty days' travel between Ṣaqjī and Constantinople on land. It is south-west of the *Ṭunā*. It and Constantinople are on the same side (of the Danube). The majority of the population of Ṣaqjī are Muslims."<sup>915</sup>

910 The Muslim community in the Hungarian Kingdom is also mentioned by other authors. Abū Ḥāmid put down a detailed report about them (Bolsakov, Mongajt 1985, 56–62); Yāqūt mentioned Hungarian Muslims who studied in Aleppo (HKÍF, 71–72). On the Muslims in Hungary in the Middle Ages: Czeglédy, MÓT, 99–104.

911 Ibn Sa'īd, 194; *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, 206.

912 These ethnonyms designate Wallachians, Serbians, and Hungarians, respectively.

913 *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, 63; Kmoskó 1/3, 125. The town is Noviodunum, Isakdscha (Isaccea today), in the northern part of Dobruja, near the knee of the lower Danube (Golden 1987, 76).

914 Akkerman, Moncastro (now Belgorod Dniestrovskiy) at the mouth of the Dnieper (Golden 1987, 77).

915 *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, 213, Golden 1987, 76; Kmoskó 1/3, 140.

There are at least three different forms in the cited texts reflecting various languages. The variants used in al-Idrīsī and Ibn Saʿīd can be explained from the Latin *Danuvius*, while al-Masʿūdī recorded a South Slavic form *Dunav*, and the Hungarian *Duna* was preserved in the Jayhānī tradition and in the Letter of Khazar King Joseph. Another Hungarian variant might appear as *Ṭuna* in Ibn Ḥayyān and later authors. As an analogy, the ethnonym *Burdās* in the Jayhānī tradition can be cited, where *d* is written instead of the emphatic *ṭ* that occurs in *Burṭās* by other Muslim authors.<sup>916</sup>

The Danube, similar to the Black Sea, had no direct contact with the Islamic world in the 10th century; merchants, diplomats and travelers, and Greek authors were the only sources of information about the Danube. Al-Idrīsī was the first reliable author who described it accurately, for having lived in Sicily he was in possession of excellent information on all of Europe. The Danube became well-known in the Islamic world only after the Ottoman conquest of the region.

### *Volga*

The other river, called *Ātil*, is generally written in the form *ʾAt.l*, and in some later manuscripts in the form *ʾAtīl*.

Mention of the river *Ātil* can be found in two other chapters of the Jayhānī tradition. Gardizī mentioned it in connection with the Burtas: “Some (merchants), when they go from Burdās to the Khazars, go via the river *Atil* riding in a boat and some go via dry (land).”<sup>917</sup> The lack of parallel texts indicates that this may have been a later interpolation. In any case, these are identified with the Volga River. The *Ātil* is mentioned in the Volga Bulgar chapter in the works of Ibn Rusta, Gardizī, al-Bakrī, and the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, which is strong evidence of its existence in the original version: “They dwell on the edge of a river which flows into the sea of the Khazars; it is called *Ātil*.”<sup>918</sup> The sea of the Khazars is the Caspian Sea, so the *Ātil* can only be the Volga. It is noteworthy, however, that the river is omitted in the Khazar chapter, although the capital or half of it was named for it and it was located on the banks of the Volga, as is known from the Balkhī tradition.

Ibn Khurdādhbih’s work, which is regarded as the source of the Jayhānī tradition, contains a reference in connection with the Rūs merchants: “If they travel on the river of *Ṣaqāliba*, the *Tanais*, they pass to *Khamlikh*, the city of the

916 Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 55, note 29.

917 Ḥabībī 1963, 273; Martínez 1982, 156; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 169.

918 BGA VII, 141; Zimonyi 1990, 122; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 57, 170, 219, 227.

Khazars, where its ruler levies the tithes.”<sup>919</sup> De Goeje reconstructed *Tanais* تنيس from the manuscripts, which contain two variants, *nys* نيس and one without diacritical points, *xxs* نس. Lewicki’s emendation is *ytyl* يتيل and he read it as *Yatil* or *Etil*, meaning the Volga.<sup>920</sup> Marquart preferred the form *Tin* and identified it with river Don.<sup>921</sup> According to Golden, the emendation of de Goeje, *Tanais*, seems to be most acceptable.<sup>922</sup> In any case, the river of *Şaqāliba* must have been the Volga, as the Khazar capital was shifted to the lower reaches of the Volga in the 720s due to the successful Arab siege of the former center, Balanjar. Ibn A’tham al-Kūfī mentioned in connection with the Arab attack against the Khazars in 737 that the Muslim army crossed the Caucasus and reached the Khazar capital, but as the Khagan fled the army moved north and remained on the bank of the river *Şaqāliba*, which may be identical only with the Volga.<sup>923</sup> These data prove that the designation Ätil was not known in the Muslim literature of the 9th century.

Al-Mas‘ūdī mentioned the Volga as the Khazar River (*nahr al-Khazar*) in his book:

(Some time) after 300 A.H. (912/13 AD) some 500 ships, each carrying 100 men, arrived at the Straits of the Buntus (Pontus) joint with the Khazar River (Volga *nahr al-Khazar*), and here there are men of the Khazar king, strong and well supplied with equipment. (Their task is) to oppose anyone coming from the sea or from that side of the land, the parts of which stretch from the Khazar River (*nahr al-Khazar*) down to Sea of Buntus. This in view of the fact that the nomad Oguz -Turks (Ghuzz) come to winter in this tract of land. Sometimes the branch which joins the Khazar river (Volga, *nahr al-Khazar*) to the gulf of the Pontus (Buntus) becomes frozen and the Oguz with their horses cross it. This is a large stream (Don) but (the ice) does not collapse under them because it is as hard as stone. Consequently the Oguz pass over to the Khazar country and on several occasions, when the men posted here to repel the Oguz were unable to hold them at their place, the Khazar king had to sally forth to prevent them from passing over the ice and to repel them from his territory. In summer, however, the Turks cannot pass.

919 BGA VI, 154; Kmoskó 1/1, 122; Lewicki 1956, 76–77; Nazmi 1998, 90, 142.

920 Lewicki 1956, 76, 133.

921 Marquart 1903, 352, note 1.

922 Golden 1980, 226.

923 Ibn A’tham al-Kūfī, VIII, 261; Togan 1939, 296–299; Zimonyi 1990, 71–73.

When the ships of the Rūs reached the Khazar troops posted at the entrance to the straits (Kerch?), they sent an envoy to the king of the Khazars (asking permission) to pass through his country, sail down his river, enter the river (canal?) of the Khazar (capital) and so reach the Khazar Sea (Caspian Sea), which, as has been mentioned before, is the sea of Jurjān, Ṭabaristān and other Iranian (provinces)—on condition that they should give him half of the booty captured from the nations living by that sea. He allowed them to do so and they penetrated into the straits, reached the estuary of the river (Don), and began to ascend that branch until they came to the Khazar river (Volga) by which they descended to the town of Ātil (Āmul). They sailed past it, reached the estuary where the river flows out into the Khazar Sea (Caspian Sea), and thence (sailed) to the town of Āmol (in Ṭabaristān).<sup>924</sup> This (Volga) is a large stream carrying much water. The ships of the Rūs scattered over the sea and carried out raids in Jīl, Daylam, Ṭabaristān, Ābaskūn (which stands on the coast of Jurjān), the oil-bearing areas and the land lying in the direction of Azerbaijan, for from the territory of Ardābil in Azerbaijan to this sea there is a three days' distance. The Rūs shed blood, captured women and children and seized the property (of the people). They sent out raiding parties and burnt (villages) ...

When the Rūs were laden with booty and had had enough of their adventure, they sailed to the estuary of the Khazar river and sent messengers to the Khazar king carrying to him money and booty, as had been stipulated between them. The Khazar king has no (sea-going) ship and his men have no habit of using them; were it not so, there would be calamities in store for the Muslims. The Arsiyya (mercenaries) and other Muslims in the kingdom (heard) what (the Rūs) had done and said to the king: "Leave us (to deal) with these people who have attacked our Muslim brothers and shed their blood and captured their women and children." The king, unable to oppose them, sent to warn the Rūs that the Muslims had decided to fight with them. The Muslims gathered and came down the stream to meet the Rūs. When they came face to face, the Rūs left their ships. The Muslims were about 15,000, with horses and equipment, and some of the Christians living in the town Ātil were with them. The battle lasted three days and God granted victory to the Muslims. The Rūs were put to the sword and killed and drowned and only some 5000 escaped, who in their ships sailed to that bank which lies towards the

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924 Pellat and Rotter translated: "From (the city) Ātil to the estuary of the river (Volga) it is ..."

Burṭās. They left their ships and proceeded by land. Some of them were killed by the Burṭās, others fell (into the hands of) the Bulgar (Burghar) Muslims who (also) killed them. So far as could be estimated, the number of those whom the Muslims killed on the banks of the Khazar river was about 30,000.<sup>925</sup>

The Khazar capital is called Ätil; the form Amul (امل - اتل) in some manuscripts is obviously a motivated misinterpretation, as Amul was a famous commercial city on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea.<sup>926</sup> Al-Mas'ūdī repeated his earlier passage about the Volga as Khazar River and Ätil as the Khazar capital: "One of the rivers (which flows into the Khazar Sea) is the Khazar (Khazar) river which passes the city Atil, the capital of the Khazar empire."<sup>927</sup>

Ibn Faḍlān stayed on the banks of the Volga River in 922 and he knew its Turkic name: "When we came to the king [the ruler of the Volga Bulgars], we found them encamped by a water called Khaljah, which consists of three lakes, two large and one small, except that in none of them can be the bottom be reached. Between this place and a large river of theirs which flows into the land of the Khazars, and which is called the river Atil, is approximately one farsakh. On this river is the site of a market, which takes place periodically, in which much precious merchandise is sold. Takin had told me that in the land of the king was a man with gigantic physique. When we arrived in the country, I asked the king about him. He said: Yes, he used to be in our country and died here. He was not of the people of this land, nor was he of human kind. His story is as follows: Some people from among the merchants went out to the river Atil, a river between which and us there is a distance of one day, as they were wont to do. The river had risen and its water had overflowed its banks. Then one day, all of a sudden, a group of merchants came to me saying: O King, there has come floating on the water a man, who if he is from a people near to us, it is no longer possible for us to stay in these regions, and [we] have no choice but to move elsewhere. I rode out with them until I reached the river, ..." <sup>928</sup> The river is mentioned in the Khazar chapter: "The king of the Khazars has a large city on the river Atil, which is situated on both sides [of the river]. On one side

925 *Murūj* II, 18–23; II<sup>2</sup>, 218–221; Minorsky 1958, 150–153; Rotter 1978, 91–93; Kmoskó 1/2, 174–176; Pellat 1962, 165–167; see Marquart 1903, 330–333.

926 L. Lockhart, *Amul*: EI<sup>2</sup> I, 459.

927 BGA VIII, 62; Kmoskó 1/2, 205.

928 Frye 2005, 57–58; Togan 1939, a 31, 68–71; Canard 1958, 66–67; Kovalevskiy 1956, 138; Lewicki 1985, 61, 106.



are Muslims, while the king and his companions are on the other.”<sup>929</sup> In both cases the author referred to the Volga as *Ätil*, which meant the lower part of the river, south of the confluence of the Volga and Kama.

The Balkhī tradition preserved a detailed description of the river *Ätil*: “As to the river *Atil*, from what I have heard, it emerges from the vicinity of the *Khirkhīz* and flows between the *Kīmākiyya* and the *Ghuzziyya*, being the boundary between the two. Then it proceeds west behind *Bulghār*, and turns back in its course eastwards till it passes by the *Rūs*. Then it goes past *Bulghār*, then *Burtās*, and turns back in its course till it falls into the sea of the *Khazars*. It is said that more than seventy streams branch from this river. Its main body flows by *al-Khazar* till it falls into the sea.”<sup>930</sup> The interpretation of the second part of the description is evident. The river flows from *Rūs* past the countries of the *Volga Bulgars* and the *Burtas* and the *Khazar* capital, into the sea of the *Khazars*. This is without doubt the *Volga River*.

Regarding the first part of the passage on the river as far as “behind the *Volga Bulgars*,” the *Turkic* river names of the *Volga* region for the *Ätil* give further information. In an early *Byzantine* source appears the phrase ‘black *Ätil*,’ to which correspond the *Chagatay*, *Kazan Tatar*, *Bashkir*, and *Chuvash* composite term for the river *Volga*, in contrast with ‘white *Ätil*’ referring to the rivers *Kama* and *Belaya*. The latter is demonstrated in the *Turkic* languages of the *Volga* region (*Bashkir*, *Tatar*, *Chuvash*). In addition, there is another opposition in *Tatar*: big *Idil* ‘*Volga*’ and small *Idil* ‘*Kama-Belaya*’. The river system of the *Volga* region was clearly described among the languages of the *Turkic* peoples: The *Volga* from the confluence of the *Volga* and *Kama* downward was called *Ätil*, upward from there toward northwest the *Volga* was known as ‘black or large *Ätil*,’ and the north-eastern branch, the river *Kama-Belaya*, was designated the ‘white or small *Ätil*.’<sup>931</sup> The section behind the *Volga Bulgars* can be identified with the *Belaya-Kama* as far as the confluence of the *Volga* and *Kama*.

Another question is how the section east of the river *Belaya* should be interpreted. The *Hudūd al-‘ālam* points to a solution to this: “Another river is the *Ätil*, which rises in the same mountains north of the *Irtys*; it is a mighty and wide river flowing through the *Kīmāk* country, down to the village *Jübīn*; then it flows westwards along the frontier between the *Ghūz* and the *Kīmāk* until it has passed *Bulghār*; then it turns southward, flowing between the *Turk Pechenegs* and the *Burtās*, traverses the town of *Ätil* belonging to the *Khazar*, and flows

929 Frye 2005, 77; Togan 1939, a 45, 101–102; Canard 1958, 87; Kovalevskiy 1956, 147.

930 Dunlop 1954, 95; al-*Iṣṭakhri* BGA I, 222; Ibn Ḥawqal BGA II<sup>2</sup>, 393; Kramers, Wiet 1964, 383; Kmoskó 1/2, 29, 77; see Marquart 1903, 340.

931 Podosinov 1999, 46; Ligeti 1986, 479.

into the Khazar Sea.<sup>932</sup> The description of the upper Volga down to the estuary of the Kama is omitted here. The Irtysh deserves a special interest among the rivers in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*: “Another river is the Irtysh, which rises in the same mountain. It is a large water, black yet drinkable and fresh. It flows between the Ghūz and the Kīmāk until it reaches the village Jūbīn in the Kīmāk country, then it empties itself into the river Ātil.”<sup>933</sup> Earlier it was recorded of the mountain mentioned in both descriptions that it lay between the lands of the Kimāk and the Kirgiz, which can be identified with the Altai.<sup>934</sup> Minorsky interpreted the Persian expression *dih-Chūb(īn)* as ‘village built of wood,’ mentioned also in Kimāk chapter.<sup>935</sup> Minorsky formed a concept in connection with these two rivers plus the river mentioned before them as *Ras*, as he identified the mountains with the Urals, and accordingly the three rivers as, i.e., the Ilek (*Ras*), the southern tributary of the river Ural; the river Ural (*Irtis*); and the Belaya (*Atil*), which originate in the Ural Mountains.<sup>936</sup> The basis for the concept might be the report of al-Masʿūdī about the rivers flowing into the Khazar (Caspian) Sea in his work *Tanbīh*: “The black Artīsh<sup>937</sup> and white Artīsh are among the big and famous streams flowing into this sea. They are two big rivers, each of which exceeds the Tigris and Euphrates. There is ten days between their estuaries. The winter and the summer quarters of the Kīmākiyya and the Ghuzziyya from the Turks are on them.”<sup>938</sup> De Goeje explained in the footnote that the identification with the rivers Yayik (Ural) and Emba is hardly acceptable,<sup>939</sup> in spite of the fact that the Irtysh does not flow into the Caspian Sea, which is obviously an inaccuracy. Nevertheless, al-Masʿūdī claimed in one of his earlier works: “I do not treat here the black Irtysh (*Irshit*) and the white Irtysh on which lies the kingdom of Kīmāk-Yabghū.<sup>940</sup> They are a Turkic people (who live) beyond the river of Balkh (i.e. the Jayhūn). On both rivers live the Ghuzziyya from the Turks.”<sup>941</sup> The river Irtysh must without a doubt be taken into consideration on

932 Minorsky 1939, 75; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 202, note 109.

933 Minorsky 1939, 75; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 202, note 108.

934 Minorsky 1939, 66, 75, 202.

935 Minorsky 1939, 310.

936 Minorsky 1939, 215.

937 P: *Irbīsh*, L: *Izbīsh*.

938 BGA VIII, 62; Kmoskó 1/2, 205; see Marquart 1903, 340, note 6.

939 BGA VIII, 62, note d.

940 This is the Turkic title *Yabgu*, held the ruler of Kimāk between 840 and the 890s (Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 105, note 45).

941 *Murūj* I, 213; 11<sup>2</sup>, 116; Rotter 1978, 37; Kmoskó 1/2, 152–153; Pellat 1962, 87; see Marquart 1903, 339, note 6.

the basis of the historical and geographical context. This is further corroborated by the account of Gardīzī describing the river Irtysh in the Kimāk origin myth, on whose banks was located the summer quarters of the prince of the Kimāk.<sup>942</sup>

Returning to the account of the Balkhī tradition, it reflects a description of a route along rivers starting from the Altai Mountains and proceeding along the river Irtysh toward west; it reaches the estuary of the river Tobol following the Tobol upstream to its source in the southern part of the Ural Mountains, where the headwaters of the Belaya can be found, then coming along the Belaya, the route follows the Kama and then the Volga. This route is identical to the fur road that can be followed via the same river systems to the east as far as the Altai Mountains.

Gardīzī's story about the origin of the Kirgiz reflects the same route. The ancestor of the Kirgiz was a man named Saqlābī, i.e. Slav, who killed a Byzantine envoy and therefore had to flee and asked the Khazars for asylum. The story continues thus: "Going thence, he came to the Khazars and the Khāqān of the Khazars treated him well until he died. The next Khāqān, however, who sat [on the throne] made heavy his heart against him. From that place [too] he had perforce to go and, departing thence, he went to Bashjirt. Now this Bashjirt was a man from among the great men of the Khazars and his abode was between the Khazars and the Kīmāk, with two thousand mounted warriors. Next the Khān of the Khazars sent a person to Bashjirt telling him to put out the Saqlābī. He told [this] to the Saqlābī and Saqlābī went to the province of *Khrzī* (Tokuzoguz?), for between him and some of them was a tie of kinship. [But] when he arrived at a point in the road which [is] between the Kīmāk and <Tokuzoguz> the Khān [of Tokuzoguz] became estranged from his own tribe, and took umbrage at them. [When, accordingly,] they were killed [by him], [having] scattered, they began to come by one[s] and two[s] to that Saqlābī. All [of those who came] he received and treated well until they became numerous. [Then] a person was sent to Bashjirt and [the Saqlābī] joined with him in [an aliance] of friendship until such time as he became powerful. Thereafter he raided the Ghuzz. He killed many of them and took many of them prisoners, [thereby] procuring great wealth [for himself] both by means of his plundering and raiding, as well as on account of the prisoners, all of whom he sold back (for a ransom). And that tribe who had gathered about him he named Khirkhīz. [Eventually,] the news of him reached the Saqlāb and many folk came to him from the Saqlābs together with their famil[ies] and chattels. [These] mixed [well] with those others and formed bonds [with them] till [at length] all became one. (This is

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942 Martínez 1982, 120–122; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 106–108.

the reason why) the features and traits of the Saqlābiyān are to be found among the Khirkhīz [such as] reddishness of hair and whiteness of skin.”<sup>943</sup> Apart from the legendary elements of the story, the hero wandered eastward from Khazaria following the fur road along the same river system to the land of the Kirgiz in the opposite direction to that of the Balkhī tradition.

The description of Ātil in the Balkhī tradition preserved a complete water route in northern Eurasia which consisted of three parts: The starting point was the source in the Altai Mountains of the Black Irtysh, which then flows through Lake Zaysan, taking the name (White) Irtysh from the lake heading north-westward. The route follows the Irtysh as far as the estuary of the river Tobol, and turning upwards along the Tobol the Ural Mountains can be reached. This might be the first section of the commercial route. Then it passes the Ural Mountains as far as the Belaya and, following it on the western side of the Urals, reaches the Kama and finally the Volga, forming the second section. The last is the river Volga.

The Volga is described in the longer version of the letter of the Khazar ruler Joseph. He claimed that he lived on the river Atel, at the edge of the Gorgan Sea. The source of this river is at a distance of four months in the east. Many peoples live on this river in villages and in open or fortified towns. Their names are: Burtas, Bulgar, Suwar, Arisu, Caramis, Wnntit, Swr, Slwiyun. Each of these people is quite large, uncountable and pay the Khazars tribute.<sup>944</sup> The ethnonyms can be deciphered without difficulty. The Burtas lived north of the Khazars on the western bank of the Volga; the Bulgar and Suwar were originally two tribes of the Volga Bulgars and both became the names of cities during the 10th century. Then the Er and Cheremis were two Finno-Ugric speaking peoples, and finally there are Slavic-speaking tribes: Vyaticians, Severians and Slovens. Although the first two did not live on the banks of the Volga, they were enumerated, because they were near the Khazar core territory and were forced to pay tribute to the Khazar king.<sup>945</sup>

The center of the river system in Eastern Europe is the Valdai Hills, an upland region which is an important watershed of the great rivers of Eastern Europe. The Volga, the Dnieper, the Western Dvina and the Msta originate there, making a net among the Baltic, Black, and Caspian Seas. Eastward the river system can be extended as far as the Ural Mountains by following the Volga, the Kama and the Belaya. Finno-Ugric-speaking peoples, i.e. Mordvinians, Chud,

943 Martínez 1982, 125–126; Ḥabībī 1963, 261; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 119–121.

944 Kohn 1881, 38, note 12; 39, note 1; Kokovcov 1932, 98–99; see Spitzer, Komoróczy 2003, 100, notes 98–99.

945 Cf. the map in Sedov 1982, 271.

Meshchera, Muromians, Merya, and Veps, lived along the water route in the forest zone of Eastern Europe in the 8th–9th centuries. The main traffic roads were the rivers in the forest zone, and the migrations and infiltration of the Finno-Ugric speaking peoples took place precisely along the rivers from the Ural Mountains to the Baltic. East of the Urals the water system continues and can be followed to the Altai Mountains. The Scandinavian-Varangian-Rus expeditions and raids used the western half of this river system, penetrating into it from the north. In the 9th–10th centuries the Varangian-Rus and Slavic-speaking Krivichians and Slovens settled on the upper reaches of the Volga among Finno-Ugric speakers.

The Volga and the commercial route along the Volga were one of the main arteries of trade in Eastern Europe in the 9th–10th centuries connecting the Balticum with the Caliphate of Baghdad.<sup>946</sup> The Abbasid Caliphate initiated indirect trade relations with Eastern Europe from the center of the Islamic world around 800. The trade route crossed the territory of the Khazar Khaganate via the Caucasus to the Volga estuary near the Khazar capital, then continued along the Volga upwards to the forest area of Eastern Europe where Finno-Ugric, Slavic and Baltic-speaking peoples lived. The Muslim merchants bought the luxury goods of the region, i.e. furs, honey, wax, and slaves, paying for them in dirhams.<sup>947</sup> Due to the flourishing trade, the Khazars extended their power to the southern forest zone, where these goods could be obtained. The *Russian Primary Chronicle* stated that some of the Slavic-speaking tribes living north of the steppe paid tribute to the Khazars. At the same time, the flourishing trade attracted the Varangians, i.e. the Rus, from Scandinavia to Eastern Europe, and they gradually built their trading posts in the 9th century at the source of the Volga and on its upper stream. The confluence of the Volga and the Kama was of crucial strategic importance from the perspective of trade, and the Khazars advocated settling nomadic tribes on both banks of the lower Volga in order to ensure the trade route. This favored the northern migration of Turkic groups.

At the end of the 9th century, there was a dramatic change: the Pechenegs broke into the territory of the Khazar Khaganate and expelled the Magyars from the area north of the Black Sea. This shook the great-power status of the Khazars, because the kingdom lost its power over its western territories in the steppe, as well as the peoples living north of the nomads. These Slavic-speaking

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946 Dubov 1989; Haussig 1988; Martin 1986; Valeev 1995; Nazmi 1998, 101–114, 151–164; Usmanov 1999.

947 Noonan 1984, 151–282; 1985, 179–204; Dubov 1989.

tribes were conquered by Rūs from the Ladoga region. The political crises impacted trade on the Volga route negatively, and a new trade route came to the fore. In the 10th century the Muslim dynasty of Transoxania and Khurāsān, the Samanids, came to dominate trade with Eastern Europe, as most of the dirhams excavated in Eastern Europe were struck in the Samanid mints. The Samanids lost their provinces on the southern Caspian Sea in 914.<sup>948</sup> The role of the trade route crossing the Caspian Sea and the lower Volga was temporarily reduced, while the importance of the land route from Khwārazm via the Kazak steppe to the middle Volga region increased. The embassy of the Caliphate of Baghdad used this caravan route also when travelling from the court of the Samanids to the king of the Volga Bulgars in 922.

Ibn Faḍlān, a member of the delegation, described it in detail. The flourishing trade, together with its concomitant Islamic cultural influence, induced the Volga Bulgar ruler Almish to convert to Islam. This entailed the recognition of the Caliph of Baghdad as his suzerain, a hostile step against the Khazar Khagan to demonstrate that he did not acknowledge the latter's power. The trade boom of the caravan route through the Kazak steppe contributed to the consolidation and centralization of Almish's power within the tribal confederacy and helped build the institutions of the Volga Bulgar state. In spite of the decline of trade along the Volga, it retained its strategic and military importance as a waterway. The Rūs led two major campaigns against the Muslim provinces of the Caspian Sea in the 10th century. In 913, with the permission of the Khazar Khagans the Rus crossed the Sea of Azov via the isthmus between the Don and Volga and sailed down the Volga to the Caspian Sea, where they ravaged the Muslim provinces on the southern coast. In 943 the Rūs again attacked the Muslim provinces of the Caspian Sea via the Volga. The Hebrew letters of the Khazar ruler Joseph mentioned that the Khazar ruler prohibited the Rūs from crossing the section of the Volga controlled by the Khazars circa the 950s.<sup>949</sup> Perhaps this provoked Svyatoslav to undertake a campaign against the middle and lower Volga. First he defeated the Vyaticians, then he waged a successful campaign against the Volga Bulgars and the capital of the Khazars.<sup>950</sup> Besieged at the center of the Khazar Khaganate in 965, the Khazar ruler accepted conversion to Islam in order to consolidate his power with help of the Khwārazmians along the lower Volga, but the Khazars lost their great-power status nonetheless and faded away.<sup>951</sup>

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948 Spuler, 1952, 86.

949 Dunlop 1954, 239–241.

950 Gadlo 1971, 59–67; Vasiliev 1936, 119–131; Kalinina 1976, 90–101.

951 Dunlop 1954, 244–248.

However, Svyatoslav's campaign had no particular negative effects on the Volga Bulgars; on the contrary, they were able to expand the sphere of influence of their trade to the lower Volga. This area came under Oguz and then Cuman rule in the 11th century, but the trade routes and centers were still partly in the hands of the Khwārazmians and partly the Volga Bulgars, as witnessed by two Muslim authors. In his book on the Turkic language, written in 1074, Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī recorded two reports about the Volga Bulgars, "Bulghār. A well-known city of the Turks", and "Sakhsin. A city near (the town) Bulghār. It is Suwār."<sup>952</sup> The latter statement is obviously a misunderstanding which can be explained through the account of Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī on the town of Saqsin in the 12th century: "In the middle of the town lives the Emir of the population of Bulghār, and they have a huge mosque in which the Friday prayer is held and Bulghār tribes live around it. There is also another mosque where the people called *Ṣuwār* (worship). They are also numerous."<sup>953</sup> The ancient Khazar capital on the lower Volga was replaced by the town Saqsin, in which was located a Volga Bulgar colony representing the inhabitants of two great cities of Volga Bulgars. It is worth mentioning that Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī collected the following words from the language of the Volga Bulgars: *avus* 'wax,' *bal* 'honey,' *qanaq* 'pellicle (milk)' *ākin* 'piece of cloth' and *yalnquq* 'slave'.<sup>954</sup> They all designate commercial goods of long-distance trade.

The relations between the Kievan Rūs and the Volga Bulgars were peaceful except for minor clashes in the 10th and 11th centuries. Due to the political disintegration of Kievan Rūs in the 12th century, the Principality of Vladimir-Suzdal became a powerful state which tried to monopolize the trade on the middle Volga. This led to conflicts with the Volga Bulgars, and there were several campaigns from both sides in the second half of the 12th century.

Finally, the importance of the trade along the lower Volga is demonstrated by accounts from the beginning of the 13th century. Ibn al-Athīr described the the Mongol campaign of 1223 in Eastern Europe. The Mongol army, having attacked the Volga Bulgars, were trapped and defeated and the rest escaped: "They (the Tatars) went to Saqsin returning to their king (Genghis Khan). The territory of the Kipchaks became empty of them and whoever of them survived returned to his country. The road was cut: the Tatars had entered it and nothing arrived from them from the fox, ermine, sable, etc., of what is carried from these countries. When they left it (the road), they returned to their country and

952 al-Kāshgharī I, 343, 330; Pritsak 1959, 103.

953 Dubler 1953, 5; Bolshakov, Mongajit 1985, 38.

954 al-Kāshgharī III, 16, 64, 20, 210; Pritsak 1959, 108, 111–113.

the roads were uninterrupted and carried the goods as before.”<sup>955</sup> The Mongols made a new raid in 1229 reported by the Russian annals: “In the same year the inhabitants of Saksin and the Polovec (Cumans) escaped from the Tatars to the Bulgars from the south.”<sup>956</sup>

The Volga was not only an important trade route, but several power centers arose on it that decisively influenced the history of Eastern Europe. On the lower Volga was the center of the Khazar Khaganate, which then became one of the centers of power of the Cumans and later of the Golden Horde. At the confluence of the Volga and Kama was the heart of the Volga Bulgar state, which was the Muslim power in medieval Eastern Europe. The headwaters of the Volga were the first center of the Rūs, who later founded the Kievan Rūs empire. In the 12th century the Principality of Vladimir-Suzdal was built on the water system of the Volga and the Oka, and from it the Grand Duchy of Moscow grew. In short, the river Volga was an important commercial and political factor in the history of Eastern Europe.

The Turkic name of the Volga occurred not only in Muslim sources, but is well-known in Byzantine authors from the 7th century in the forms *Til*, *Astel*, *Atel*,<sup>957</sup> and in the Armenian and Hebrew sources (*Atil*) from the 9th–10th centuries.<sup>958</sup> The authors of the Mongol period, Juwaynī and Rashīd al-Dīn, mentioned the Volga in a form corresponding to those of the earlier Muslim sources. However, the Latin sources called the Volga *Etil*, as did the *Secret History of the Mongols*.<sup>959</sup> The modern Turkic languages of the Volga region, i.e. the Tatar (*Idil*), the Bashkir (*Iḍel*), the Chuvash (*Atäl*) and the Kazak (*Edil*), and the Mongolian Kalmyk (*Jjil*) have kept the original designation. The wide-spread form *Itil* was used first in the works of Fraehns, whence it entered modern historiography. It is in fact an artificial form created from Kazan-Tatar *Idil*. The Old and Middle Turkic form was *Ätil* on the basis of the sources and the reconstruction of the Turkic language history.<sup>960</sup> It would be preferable to return to this form in contemporary historical works.

### *Etelköz, Habitat of the Magyars before the Conquest*

Constantine Porphyrogenitus recorded the Hungarian term *Etelköz*, denoting the habitat of the Magyars before the conquest of the Carpathian Basin in 895.

955 Ibn al-Athīr XII, 389.

956 PSRL I, 453.

957 Moravcsik BT II, 78–79.

958 Golden has collected the material in full and commented on it (Golden 1980, 224–227).

959 Ligeti 1986, 479.

960 Togan 1939, 173–174; Ligeti 1986, 479.



Its first element is borrowed from Turkic *Ätil*. According to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the Magyars moved westward under the leadership of Levedi due to the attack of the Pechenegs, earlier called Kangar. They migrated to Etelköz, a place where the Pechenegs lived in the 950s.<sup>961</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus added that the habitat of the Pechenegs where the Turks (Magyars) used to live was named for the rivers crossing it, of which he listed the names of five: the Dnieper, Bug, Dniester, Prut and Siret.<sup>962</sup> Finally, the emperor wrote in connection with the Pecheneg attack that forced the Magyars to migrate to the Carpathian Basin: “The place in which the Turks used formerly to be is called after the names of the river that run through it, Etel and Kuzu, and in it the Pechenegs live now.”<sup>963</sup> *Etel* and *Kuzu* are apparently a corruption of the name *Etelköz*. The overlap of the Pecheneg habitat with that of the Magyars on the one hand, and the detailed description of the settlements of the Pecheneg tribes and the routes of their nomadic migrations on the other, also offer an analogy for the reconstruction of Magyar tribal lands, but some uncertainty is inherent in the fact that Constantine Porphyrogenitus located the lands of the Pechenegs in the area between the Dnieper and the Siret in the 38th chapter, while in the 37th (Pecheneg) chapter he placed the abodes of the eight Pecheneg tribes relative to the Dnieper, four tribes west of it and the rest east of it, which can be interpreted as implying that the eastern boundary of the Pechenegs might have reached the Don. In recent Hungarian historiography *Etil* is identified in most cases with the Don, or with another river that flows into the Black Sea.<sup>964</sup>

Theophanes Confessor recorded a geographical description at the beginning of the story of Kuvrat’s sons: “It now necessary to relate the ancient history of the Ounnogoundour Bulgars and Kotragoi. On the northern, that is the far side of the Euxine Sea, is the so-called Maeotid Lake, into which flows a huge river called *Atel*, which comes down from the Ocean through the land of the Sarmatians. The *Atel* is joined by the river *Tanais*, which also rises from the Iberian Gates that are in the mountains of Caucasus. From the confluence of the *Tanais* and *Atel* (it is above the aforementioned Maeotid Lake that the *Atel* splits off) flows the river called *Kouphis* which discharges into the far end of the Pontic Sea near *Nekropela*.”<sup>965</sup> The account is dated to 678/9; the author considered the Volga and Don as merging and flows onto the Sea of Azov, and the *Kouphis* can be identified with the river Bug.

961 Moravcsik 1950, 172–173; DAI, 172–173; Belke, Soustal 1995, 189–190.

962 Moravcsik 1950, 174–175; DAI, 174–175; Belke, Soustal 1995, 192.

963 Moravcsik 1950, 176–177; DAI, 176–177; Belke, Soustal 1995, 195.

964 Kristó 1996, 155–156.

965 Mango, Scott 1997, 497–498.

*Etelköz* is a combination of two words. The first element is from the Turkic name of the river Volga, *Ätil*, plus the Hungarian word *köz* ‘space (between two rivers).’ In Hungarian antiquity, geographical names with the formant *-köz* can be divided typologically into two groups: 1. Words meaning ‘water, river, lake’ plus *-köz*, e.g. Hungarian *Tóköz*, *Vízköz* ‘Lake-space, Water-space.’ 2. Hydronym plus *-köz*, referring mostly to a spacious area bordered by a larger and a smaller river. The first element of the composition is regularly named after the smaller river, e.g. *Csallóköz*, *Vágköz*. In another variant the same name is applied to both rivers, e.g. *Kőrösköz*. The first element of *Etelköz*, is an old Turkic loanword borrowed from the Khazar language before the conquest of the Carpathian Basin. *Ätil* changed to *Etel* in the Hungarian language by the middle of the 10th century.<sup>966</sup>

The Latin literature of the medieval Hungarian kingdom preserved Turkic *Ätil*. It occurred as *Etyl*<sup>967</sup> in the work of Anonymus (Magister P) and as *Ethyl*<sup>968</sup> in the notes of Friar Julianus; both refer to the Volga and reflect the Turkic form.<sup>969</sup> The form *Etul* used by Simonis de Kéza and in the Chronicle Composition of the 14th century<sup>970</sup> reflect Hungarian *Etil*, which can be also derived from the name *Ätil*, and it denoted the river Don. This demonstrates that Hungarian sources called the Don *Ätil* in the 13th century.<sup>971</sup> Ligeti pointed out that the identification might have been reflected in the Hungarian sources, but there is no data on this point before the 13th century.<sup>972</sup> Kristó discovered the river name *Ethel* in a Hungarian source in connection with events in the middle of the 14th century, by which it can be identified with the Prut.<sup>973</sup> The term *Etelköz* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus and *Etil* preserved by Simonis de Kéza and in the Hungarian chronicles refers to a river that flowed into the Black Sea in the second half of the 9th century. But as *Ätil* meant originally the Volga, the transfer of the name to another river is possible in the event the name *Ätil*

966 Kristó 1980, 116–150; Györfly 1985, 3–7; Benkó 1985, 7–37; Harmatta 1985, 38–49; Király 1985, 49–57; Ligeti 1985, 57–76; Vékony 1986, 41–53.

967 SRH I, 41; HKÍF, 288; Interpretation: Györfly 1948, 58.

968 SRH II, 539; Györfly 1986, 68; Göckenjan, Sweeney 1985, 79, 89, note 26.

969 Ligeti 1986, 405.

970 SRH I, 145, 146, 252, 253, 269; Simonis de Kéza, 18–21.

971 Benedictus Polonus has handed down an interesting comment on the Volga and the Don: “They found it (the camp of Batu) on the great river Etil which the Russians called Volga and of which is believed that it is the Thanais.” (Györfly 1986, 186; see Gießauf 1995, 210, note 602).

972 Ligeti 1986, 480.

973 Kristó 1998, 156–157.

changed to a common noun meaning 'big river' in Hungarian. A similar change is detectable in three Turkic languages (Tatar, Bashkir and Chagatay).<sup>974</sup>

The river Volga was recorded in the Muslim geographical literature as the Slavic River in the work of Ibn Khurdādhbih. Even al-Mas'ūdī used the term Khazar River in the 10th century, but he mentioned *Ätil* as the name of the Khazar capital. The turning point is Ibn Faḍlān who saw the Volga personally in 922 and recorded the genuine Turkic form. The Jayhānī tradition mentioned the Volga as *Ätil* in the chapters on the Volga Bulgars and the Burtas. Another contemporary and personal acquaintance of al-Jayhānī, al-Balkhī, gathered detailed information on the *Ätil*, which he described as whole system of waters, including the rivers Irtysh-Tobol, Belaya-Kama, and Volga. The Khazar ruler Joseph applied the name *Ätil* regularly to the Volga which can be regarded the Khazar variant of the hydronym. As for the river *Ätil* in the Magyar chapter of the Jayhānī tradition, the source of information came from Magyars circa the 880s, who described it as a river that flew into the Black Sea, which is corroborated by the first element of the term *Etelköz*.

Nevertheless, the first sentence of the Jayhānī tradition contains the reference to the first boundary of Magyars, which was located between the Volga Bulgars and the Pechenegs, east of the Volga and perhaps not far from its bank, and al-Jayhānī could have heard the name *Ätil* for the Volga from Ibn Faḍlān. In any case, the Hungarians remaining in the east were discovered by friar Julianus in 1235 on the bank of the *Etil*.<sup>975</sup> Al-Jayhānī thus described the river *Ätil* once as the Volga and twice as a big river flowing into the Sea of Azov or the Black Sea.

### *The Role of Rivers in the Nomadic Way of Life*

The rivers played a major role in the life of Magyar tribes, according to the Muslim data. To reconstruct the habitat of the Magyars in the 9th century, the analogy of later nomadic peoples living north of the Black Sea must be relied on. In practice, the data on the settlements of the Pecheneg and Cuman tribes may be considered. Györffy's theory about the migration along the rivers was discussed in the previous chapter. There was another attempt besides this to localize the settlement of each Magyar tribe on the basis of the Pecheneg pattern.<sup>976</sup>

Constantine Porphyrogenitus wrote about settlements of the Pecheneg tribes: "Four clans of the Pechenegs, that is to say, the province of Kouartzit-

974 Ligeti 1986, 479–480.

975 Dörrie 1956, 157; Györffy 1986, 68.

976 Tóth 1995, 471–485.

zour and the province of Syroukalpei and the province of Borotalmat and the province of Boulatzopon, lie beyond the Dnieper river towards the eastern and northern parts that face Uzia, Chazaria, Alania, Cherson, and the rest of the Regions. The other four clans lie on this side of the Dnieper river towards the western and northern parts, that is to say that the province of Giazichopon is neighbour to Bulgaria, the province of Kato Gyla is neighbour to Turkey, the province of Charaboï is neighbour to Russia, and the province of Iabdiertim is neighbour to tributary territories of the country of Russia to the Oultines and Drevlenines and Lenzenines and the rest of the Slavs. Patzinacia is at a distance of five days journey from Uzia and Chazaria, a six-day journey from Alania, a ten-day journey from Mordia, one day's journey from Russia, four days' journey from Turkey, half a day's journey from Bulgaria; to Kherson it is very near, and to Bosphorus closer still.<sup>977</sup> Györffy used this to reconstruct the habitats of the tribes. The first tribe, the Iabdiertim, could have lived south of Kiev on the Dniester and Bug. The Kuartzitzur migrated on the east side of the Dnieper between the rivers Seym and Oryol. The settlements of the Chabuxingula might have been between Siret and Prut. The Syrukalpei might have wandered on the banks of the Donets, while the Charaboï lived on the right bank of the Dnieper near the big knee of the river. The Borotalmat tribe was located on the shore of the Sea of Azov. The Giazichopon might have wandered on the lower Danube and the Bulatzopon on the left bank of the the middle and upper Don.<sup>978</sup> Tóth discovered a system in the list of Pecheneg tribes: The odd-numbered tribes of the list can be located west of the Dnieper, while the four even-numbered tribes were found east of the river Dnieper.<sup>979</sup> When he applied this system to the Magyar tribes, however, Tóth called attention to some difficulties of his theory. The Magyar tribal hierarchy must certainly have changed in the 9th century and the tribe(s) of the Kabars joining the tribal confederation must have complicated the system, which limits the validity of the analogy.

Besides the Pechenegs, analogy with the settlements of Cuman groups is also worth taking into account, since they have been relatively better studied from the sources and excavations. The Cuman territory was designated in the Russian sources as *Poloveckaya zemlya* or *polye Poloveckoe* and in the Muslim sources as *Dasht-i Qibchāq*. The border between the Cumans (Polovcy) and the Russian principalities was approximately the frontier between the steppe

977 DAI, 168–169; Moravcsik 1950, 168–169; Belke, Soustal 1995, 186. Ligeti reconstructed the tribal names as: *yawdi-erdim*, *küürči-čur*, *qaβuqšün-yıla*, *suru-külbey*, *qara-bay*, *boro-tolmač*, *yazi-qapan*, *bula-čopan*; 1986, 506–511.

978 Györffy 1990a, 198–199.

979 Tóth 1995, 480; 1998, 59–60.

and forest zones. According to Pritsak, this line started in the southern Urals, followed the river Samara to the Volga, then headed west along the upper and middle reaches of the rivers Sura, Moksha, Vorona and Cna to the right bank of the river Pronya, and then north of the rivers Kulikovo Krasnaya Meshcha to the upper Don, whereupon it followed the Don's western tributary, the Bystraya Sosna, along the rivers Seym and Psel, and reached the Dnieper. From there it proceeded along the right bank of the Tyasmin and upper Vis, the middle Bug, the Dniester and Prut, to the Carpathian mountains and the lower Danube.<sup>980</sup>

The reconstruction of the settlement of the Cumans and their tribal and palatial centers were studied by Rasovskiy and Kudryashov on the basis of the direction of the Russian attacks, the records of which have survived in the Russian annals. Kudryashov distinguishes five groups of Cumans:

1. The Cumans on the coast of the Black Sea between the lower Danube and the Dnieper.
2. The Cumans on the Dnieper, who might have had several centers: one between the Dnieper and Ingulets; another on the Sula, a third on river Psel, and finally in the territory of Samara and Orel (Oril).
3. The Cumans on the Sea of Azov; their center was on the banks of the river Molochnaya.
4. The centers of the Cumans Khans on the Donets were called Sugrov, Balin, and Sharukan in the sources. The Russian princes led seven campaigns against these centers in the 12th century.
5. The Cumans on the Don lived in the area between the Don and Donets.<sup>981</sup>

Following Kudryashov's results, based on the written sources, Fedorov-Davidov and Pletneva developed a new conception taking archaeological excavations that include 72 and 87 Cuman settlements respectively, and the territorial distribution of Cuman stone sculptures into consideration.<sup>982</sup>

Pritsak reviewed the distribution of Cuman settlements based on 26 volumes giving a highly detailed description of the Ukraine, discussing the archaeological finds in each district, studies on the local history of the settlements, and the evidence of place names. Pritsak formed twelve groups:

1. The Volga-group. Their traces can be found in the archaeological excava-

980 Pritsak 1982, 340–341; maps: Pletneva 1990, 69, 149.

981 Pálóczi Horváth 1993, 35–38.

982 Fedorov-Davidov reconstructed six (1966, 147–150) and Pletneva eight groups (1974, 19–23).

- tions between Saratov and Volgograd. The Polovcy of Yemäk mentioned in 1184 in connection with the attack of the Rus against the Volga Bulgars is presumably connected with this tribe. They were mentioned together with the inhabitants of the city Saqsin on the lower Volga during the Mongol onslaught of 1229. Their prince may have been Bachman, who was killed in the great Mongol campaign against Eastern Europe in 1235.
2. The Don-group. Their settlements were on the river Don. The monuments of the northern group, presumably their summer quarters, may have been near Pronsk, as reflected in geographical names: the village *Kipchakovo* is on the river Ranova and the name of the forest *Poloveckie leski* lies on the upper Susha. The prince of Ryazan led an expedition against this region in 1205.<sup>983</sup> The winter quarters might have been situated at the confluence of the Bityug and the Don. Several Cuman graves were found near the village Svinuha, below it on the Don, and the campaign of Rus' concentrated on this area in 1160.<sup>984</sup> Several archaeological sites were excavated around *Sarkel/Belavezha*. Finally, *Kobyakovo Gorodishche* (hillfort) is near the village of Novo-Nikolaevka, south of the Don estuary, and may have been named after the Cuman Prince, *Kobyak*, a well-known chief from the Russian chronicles.<sup>985</sup>
  3. The Donets-group may have played a central role among the Cumans, for they were attacked in two great waves. First, Vladimir Monomakh led three campaigns against them in 1109,<sup>986</sup> 1111,<sup>987</sup> and 1116.<sup>988</sup> Later, Rus' assaulted them in the second half of the 12th century: in 1168,<sup>989</sup> 1184<sup>990</sup> and 1185.<sup>991</sup> The three towns of the Cumans mentioned in the annals, Sharukan, Balin, and Sugrov, lay there. The archaeological finds of the Cumans and their political and religious centers were concentrated in this area. There are several Cuman hillforts (*gorodishche*) on the Donets: Saltovo, Kodkovskoe, Gumnin'ya, Chyuguevo. The *Kaganskiy Perevoz* 'transition, the ferry of the Khagan' is at the mouth of the river Bayka, which is a right tributary of the Donets. *Caryev gorod* is near the

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983 PSRL I, 414; Pritsak 1982, 344, note 148.

984 PSRL IX 222; Pritsak 1982, 345, note 155.

985 Pritsak 1982, 344.

986 PSRL I, 284; II, 260; Pritsak 1982, 345, note 157.

987 PSRL I, 289; II, 266–268; Pritsak 1982, 345, note 158.

988 PSRL I, 291; II, 284; Pritsak 1982, 345, note 160.

989 PSRL II, 532; Pritsak 1982, 345, note 160.

990 PSRL I, 394–396; II, 630–633; Pritsak 1982, 345, note 161.

991 PSRL I, 397–400; II, 637–651; Pritsak 1982, 345, note 161.

river Isum where Cuman tumuli are to be found, and a stone figure is on the top of one tumulus. These archaeological finds can be identified with the city of the Cumans, Sharukan. Sugrov might have lain at the confluence of the Donets and the river Tor. Cumans lived on the river Oskol as well, as Igor sent his sons to the area in 1191.

4. The left bank of the Dnieper group can be divided into five subgroups: the first was located on the banks of the river Uday, not far from where the Uday joins the Sula. Vladimir Monomakh mentions them in his Admonition in connection with the events of 1086. The second lived on the river Hotva (Goltva), a tributary of the Psel. The third was located on the banks of the Vorskla and its tributary Merl'. The fourth can be identified at the mouth of the river Oryol, where numerous Cuman archaeological finds have been discovered. The fifth subgroup might be located on the river Samara. The importance of the area is shown in the fact that 45 Cuman stone figures are collected in the museum of Dniepropetrovsk, which is the largest collection of this kind.
5. The Dnieper meadow group is found in the flood area between Zaporozhye and Kahovka, which was flooded by the Kahovka Reservoir. During the construction of the dam numerous significant Cuman finds were excavated.
6. The Azov group includes the monuments of the Cumans who lived along the rivers flowing into the Sea of Azov. The rivers Molochnaya and Berda are in the northern side of the Sea of Azov, and 14 Cuman stone figures were found on their banks. In addition, archaeological finds of Cuman settlements were also discovered on the rivers Kalmius and Mius. There are even Cuman monuments in the valley of the Kuban, which flows into the eastern side of the Sea of Azov. Many Cuman stone figures can be found in the museums of the Azov region: Tanarog 18; Azov 4; Rostov-on-the-Don 9; Novocherkask 7; Krasnodar 25; Stavropol 16.
7. The Crimean group lived in the lowlands, which constitutes the largest part of the peninsula. According to Ibn al-Athīr, the commercial center of the Kipchaks was located in the Crimea in the city of Sudak. The Igor tale emphasized that the Crimea was an important trade center; however, remains of the nomads have not been the focus of archaeological excavations. Nevertheless, there are several findings and three stone figures in the Museum of Simferopol.
8. On the right bank of the Dnieper were that group of Cumans who migrated along the rivers Ingul, Ingulets, and Bazavluk; many of their archaeological monuments have been unearthed. The Rus' prince led an army against them in 1190 and 1193.

9. The Kiev Korsun group is located in the area between the rivers Ros and Stugna, which is very rich in archaeological monuments; the Kiev State Museum has 9 stone figures.
10. The Bug group was composed of those Cumans who moved on the banks of Southern Bug and in the territory between the Bug and Dniester; the Russians attacked their settlements in 1173. There can be found 26 Cumans tumuli near the village Bolgan, and there are 31 stone figures in the Museum of Odessa collected from the neighboring regions.
11. The Lukomorye-group is the name of the area located east of the estuary of the Bug-Dnieper and north of the Crimean peninsula, and their eastern border was the river Molochnaya. Cumans were attacked at the mouth of the Dnieper in 1187, but in other cases (1169, 1185, 1223) it is more than possible that it was the target of campaigns for which the exact location of the attacked settlements was not given, as this area was strategically important—namely, the narrow pass of Perekop, which was the only way into the Crimea.
12. The Danube-group is the westernmost of the Cuman settlements on the lower Danube and Prut. The Prince of Kiev in 1106 sent his generals against the Cumans on the Danube, who fled to Bulgaria. Otto of Freising (1143–1146) mentioned that the Cumans lived near the Hungarian Kingdom, and probably these Cumans supported Ivan Berladnik, a pretender to the throne of Halich in 1159. They played a crucial role in the foundation of the Second Bulgar Empire as auxiliary troops of the brothers Asen and Peter, and supported the consolidation of the state in 1186. Their center might have been Tatarburan.<sup>992</sup>

As for the reconstruction of the Magyar habitat prior to 895, the following conclusions may be drawn on the analogy of Pecheneg and Cuman settlement patterns. The westernmost areas of settlement of the Magyar tribal federation could have been on the lower Danube and on the Prut and Siret. Another tribe might have lived on the lower Dniester and the Bug. The next tribal area was on the rivers Ingulets, Ingul, and Bazavluk. The center of the tribal confederation must have been located on the right bank of the Dnieper, below Kiev.<sup>993</sup> The territory east of the Dnieper limited by the rivers Psel and Samara might also have been a tribal region. As for the territory that lay between the mouth of the

992 Pritsak 1982, 342–368.

993 The archaeological Subotcy horizon can be identified with the remnants of the Magyars in the 9th century, which have been discovered recently; Komar 2011, 56–69; Türk 2012, 3.



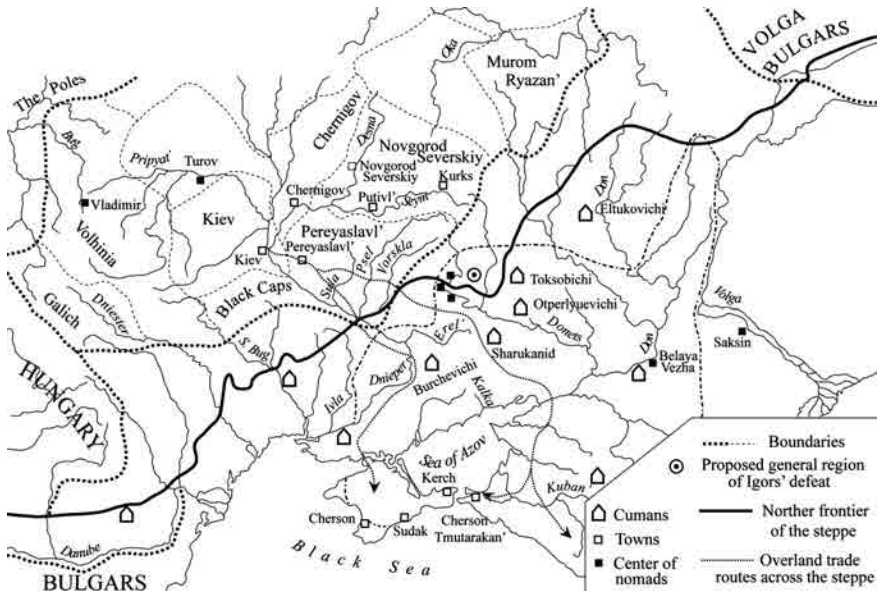


FIGURE 10 *The South Russian steppe in the second half of the 12th century*

MAP BY RICHÁRD SZÁNTÓ, ADAPTED FROM S.A. PLETNEVA, 1990, P. 149

Dnieper and the Molochnaya, it certainly might have belonged to the Magyar tribal confederation, as it was the only way to reach the Crimean peninsula, which was of strategic importance due particularly to the slave trade with the Byzantines. However, it is questionable whether the area of Magyar settlement extended to the Donets, east of the river Molochnaya on the shore of the Sea of Azov and in the Crimea, where Pritsak located separate groups of Cumans. The Volga region, the foothills of the northern Caucasus, including the river Kuban, and the Don may certainly be excluded from the lands of the Magyar tribal confederation in the second half of the 9th century prior to the conquest of the Carpathian Basin.

## 11 Moravia

Gardizī: There is a great mountain above the N.nd.r along the bank of the river. The stream emerges alongside that mountain. Beyond the mountain there are a people belonging to the Christians. They are called M.rwāt. Between them and the N.nd.r is a ten-day journey. They are a numerous people. Their clothing resembles that of the Arabs, consisting of a turban, shirt, and waistcoat. They have sown fields and vines, for their waters run over the ground. They have

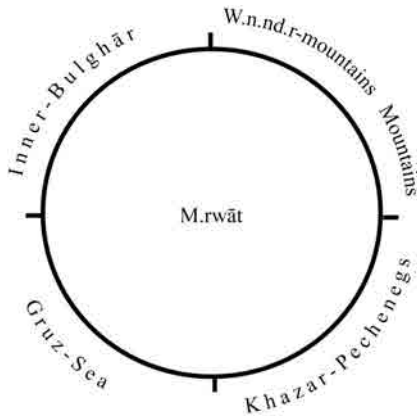


FIGURE 11 *The reconstruction of the geographical location of the country of M.rwāt by Minorsky*  
 MAP BY RICHÁRD SZÁNTÓ, ADAPTED FROM V. MINORSKY, 1939, P. 440

no underground channels. It is said that their number is greater than the Rūm (Byzantines). They are two separate communities. The greater part of their commerce is with the Arabs (\*West). The river which is to the right of the Magyars, goes (upstream) to(wards) the Saqlab (country) and thence it flows down to the land of the Khazars. Of the two rivers, that river is the greater.

*Hudūd al-‘ālam*: Discourse on the Country of M.rwāt. East of it are some mountains, and some of the Khazarian Pechenegs; south of it, some of the Khazarian Pechenegs and the Gruz Sea; west of it, some parts of the latter, and the Inner Bulghār; north of it, some of the latter and the W.n.nd.r mountains. They are Christians and speak two languages: Arabic and Rūmī (Byzantine Greek?). They dress like the Arabs. They are on friendly terms with the Turks and the Rūm. They own tents and felt huts.

Barthold emended *zīr-i n.nd.rīyān* ‘below the N.nd.r’ in both manuscripts of Gardīzī to *zabar* ‘above’ (زیر ~ زبر), which Martínez and Nyitrai accepted.<sup>994</sup> In any case, the mountains and the river lay to the north or north-west of the Danube Bulgars. The river can be identified with the Danube, which fits the image drawn from the perspective of historical geography. The mountains are the southern part of the Carpathian Mountains. The author must have meant the Iron Gate when he pointed out that the river emerges alongside these mountains.<sup>995</sup>

994 Martínez 1982, 161; Nyitrai 1995, 73.

995 Eggers 1995, 125, note 16.

The explanation of the ethnonym Moravia and a historical sketch and the geographical location of the country will be discussed later. First, however, the spread of Christianity among them deserves special notice. The Archbishop of Salzburg sent missionaries into the land of the Moravians in the 820s. The Bishop of Moravia was consecrated on the initiative of the Bishop of Passau, and he baptized the Moravians in the 830s. Bavarian ecclesiastical influence on the development of the Moravian church organization can be discerned as well. However, the Moravian Prince Rastislav turned against the East Frankish ruler, Louis the German, and he made contact with Byzantium to receive bishops from Constantinople in order to counterbalance the dependency on the western church organization. Constantine/Cyril and Methodius were sent to the land of Moravia in 863. The political situation changed once Louis the German defeated Rastislav in 864 and the conflict between the established East Frankish clergy and the Greek missionaries became more acute. Constantine then turned to the Pope, whom he visited personally with his brother Methodius in 867. The Pope assured them of his support and allowed the use of the Slavonic liturgy that they had devised. Constantine died in Rome in 869, and the Pope appointed his brother Archbishop of Pannonia and sent him as legate to the Slavs. The Frankish clergy, losing their privileges, induced Louis the German to imprison Methodius, who spent the period between 870–873 in custody and was finally set free due to papal intervention. He then went to Moravia and was appointed archbishop of Moravia by the Pope. Until his death in 885 a constant feud raged between him and the Frankish clergy, and while his translation activity at the court of Svatopluk was enormous, the papacy forbade the Slavonic liturgy under Frankish pressure. As after Methodius's death his pupils were imprisoned or exiled, Byzantine culture was unable to take root in Moravia, and thus Latin Christianity prevailed.<sup>996</sup>

Minorsky and Eggers interpreted the distance of ten days' journey between the Moravians and the Danube Bulgarians as the route to the Danube Bulgar center, Preslav and Moravia lying north of Belgrade on the Byzantine analogy,<sup>997</sup> namely, Constantine Porphyrogenitus recorded: "From Thessalonica to the river Danube where stands the city called Belgrade, is a journey of eight days if one is not travelling in haste but by easy stages. The Turks (Magyars) live beyond the Danube river, in the land of Moravia, but also on this side of it, between the Danube and the Sava River."<sup>998</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus,

996 Obolensky 1971, 136–148; Bóna 1984, 366–368; H. Tóth 1991, 80–149.

997 Minorsky 1937, 441; Eggers 1995, 125–126.

998 DAI, 182–183; Belke, Soustal 1995, 199.

describing southern border of the Magyar lands in the middle of the 10th century, noted: “In this place are various landmarks of the olden days: first, there is the bridge of the emperor Trajan, where Turkey (Hungary) begins; then, a three days’ journey from this same bridge, there is Belgrade, in which is the tower of the holy and great Constantine, the emperor; then, again, at the running back of the river, is the renowned Sirmium by name, a journey of two days from Belgrade; and beyond lies great Moravia, the unbaptized, which the Turks have blotted out, but over which in former days Sphendoplokos (Svatopluk) used to rule.”<sup>999</sup> Accordingly it took three days to get from the Iron Gate (Drobeta-Turnu Severin) to Belgrade, another two days from there to Sirmium. Then another five days remained to reach the interior of great Moravia.<sup>1000</sup>

The remark of Gardīzī about the clothing of the Moravians is a general one, as *‘imāma* ‘turban’ was a commonly used headgear in the Muslim world, *pīrāhan* ‘shirt’ means a dress that covered the body in general, and *jubba* ‘coat, overcoat’ was worn over the shirt.<sup>1001</sup>

The Persian word *kāriz* ‘underground irrigation canal’ has been known since ancient times in Persia. While the Persian term entered Arabic, New Persian borrowed the word *qanāt* from Arabic with the same meaning, and the original term *kāriz* survived only in eastern and south-eastern Persia and Afghanistan.<sup>1002</sup> In any case, this eastern Persian Muslim author stressed that the rainfall guaranteed successful agriculture in contrast to the desert areas well-known to him, where the underground irrigation system was used by agricultural communities.

Martinez has emended the grammatically incorrect sentence *īshānrā ummatī judāgānā and to: īshān dū ummatī judāgānā and* (ایشان دو ~ ایشان را) ‘They are \*two separate [religious] communities,’<sup>1003</sup> referring to the struggle between the Greek and Frankish or Latin Church.<sup>1004</sup> Ḥabībī preferred *īshān ummatī*, and accepting his interpretation Nyitrai translated: “they are a separate people.”<sup>1005</sup> Czeglédy translated it as “they belong to them (Byzantines) but they are separate people,”<sup>1006</sup> without emendation of the manuscripts. His-

999 DAI, 176–177; Belke, Soustal 1995, 195.

1000 Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 175–176, note 456.

1001 Y.K. Stillman, *Libās*: EI<sup>2</sup> V, 732–742, at 741.

1002 A.K.S. Lambton, *Qanāt*: EI<sup>2</sup> IV, 528–533.

1003 Martinez 1982, 161.

1004 Martinez 1982, 161, note 46.

1005 Ḥabībī 1963, 274; Nyitrai 1996, 73.

1006 MEH, 88.

torically this would mean that under the rule of Svatopluk Moravia gained independence in the political sense but was under the jurisdiction of Byzantium from religious point of view.<sup>1007</sup>

Martinez assumed that trade between the Moravians and the Muslim world does not fit the context, and as no other source is known he emended the word *'arab* 'Arab' to *gharb* 'West,' which can be easily done by addition of a diacritical point (عرب ~ غرب).<sup>1008</sup>

The river to the right of the Magyar lands formed the eastern boundary when viewed from the south-west. The identification of the river that runs through the land of the Slavs and the Khazars points only to the Ätil, given this context. The description also fits the river Don, as its source and upper reaches flowed among Slavic-speaking tribes and the Khazars controlled the middle and lower reaches, and it flows into the sea of Rüm and not the Caspian or Khazar Sea. Nevertheless, the text is difficult to interpret and we cannot rule out the possibility that the author meant the Volga or the Danube.

The author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* made a geographical definition of Moravia. Among the details Minorsky identified the geographical term Sea of Gurz with the Black Sea, because the word Gurz meant the Georgians.<sup>1009</sup>

The term *Inner Bulghār* was taken from the Balkhī tradition as given in the works of al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawqal, where the expression was the part of a tripartite unified system: *Bulghār al-aʿzam* 'Great Bulgar,' *Bulghār al-khārij* 'Outer Bulgar,' and *Bulghār al-dākhil*, 'Inner Bulgar.' The term *Inner Bulgar* referred to the Volga Bulgars, while Outer Bulgar meant the Danube Bulgars. As for Great Bulgar, opinions on the identification are divided.<sup>1010</sup> The author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* mistakenly applied the term Inner Bulgar to the Danube Bulgars, confusing the original system, and furthermore the author knew another ethnonym of the Danube Bulgars, namely the W.n.nd.r, without being aware of the fact that the both ethnonyms denoted the Danube Bulgars.

Minorsky emphasized the obscurity of the geographic definitions of the author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* and put forward a complicated interpretation that makes sense if the author ignored the details about the lands of the Magyars on the shore of the Black Sea. Minorsky assumed that the reference to the Arab-Greek bilingualism of Moravia and to their tents and yurts was an inference by the author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* from information that they

1007 Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 176, note 461.

1008 Martinez 1982, 161.

1009 Minorsky 1937, 421–422.

1010 Marquart 1903, 517–519; Minorsky 1937, 438–440; Zimonyi 1990, 108–110.

dressed like the Arabs.<sup>1011</sup> However, it is tempting to interpret bilingualism as an indication of the usage of the vernacular Slavic and Greek liturgy, but it rather seems to be the result of the Muslim author's fantasy.

Al-Mas'ūdī also preserved additional information on Moravia in the Muslim geographical literature. He wrote a separate chapter on the Slavs in his *Murūj*, and he mentioned Moravia among Slavic tribes: "... (another) tribe is called *Manābīn*<sup>1012</sup> and their king is called Ratīmīr,<sup>1013</sup> then a tribe named Serbs (*Sarbīn*<sup>1014</sup>). It is a tribe of the Slavs which is fearful due to causes and characteristics whose detailed explanation would take too long, and they do not submit to any other people/religious communities; then a tribe called *Murāwa*, a tribe called the Croats (*Khurwātīn*<sup>1015</sup>), then a tribe called Saxons (*Ṣāṣīn*<sup>1016</sup>) and a tribe called the *Khashānīn*,<sup>1017</sup> and a tribe called the *Barānjābīn*.<sup>1018</sup> The names of some kings of these tribes we have listed are the titles under which the kings are known."<sup>1019</sup> Al-Bakrī recorded another version of this part in his

1011 Minorsky 1937, 442.

1012 C: *mabāyin*; L: *m.āy*. The identification is uncertain (Marquart 1903, 113–115), they were also brought in connection with the Hungarians (Eggers 1995, 129). Lewicki preferred the Slavs on the river Main (1974, 49).

1013 Ch: *rabtūr*; P: *zanbūr*. He cannot be linked to a person known from contemporary sources.

1014 Marquart identified the ethnonym with the Sorbs or Serbs. Marquart and Lewicki have stressed that they were not the Balkan Serbs who were already baptized long ago, but the white Serbs that lived in the North (Poland) (Marquart, 1903, 106–111; Lewicki 1974, 49). Contrariwise, Eggers preferred the pagan tribe of the Balkan Serbs, the Narentan (Eggers 1995, 129).

1015 P: *jarwānīj*; B: *ħazwās*; L: *ħarāwis*. The ending *-is* can be read using diacritical points as an ending *-īn*. Marquart identified this information with the White Croats of Constantine Porphyrogenitus and localized their settlements on the Vistula (Marquart 1903, 129–139), while Lewicki put their habitat on the upper Bug (1974, 49–50).

1016 L: *ħāṣīn*; C: *ṣāṣū*. Marquart read *ṣākhīn* and identified it with the Czechs (1903, 122–129), and Lewicki suggested the Saxons, the inhabitants of Saxony, a people of Northern Germany (1974, 50).

1017 Ch, P: *khashānīn*; C: *khasābīn*; L: *aħsās*. Marquart's reading: *jushshānīn*, that he introduced in connection with the Slavic-speaking Guduscani (1903, 140–142). Lewicki preferred the traditional view, i.e. that is the Scandinavian tribal name Chizzini, Chyzhané, who belonged to the tribal confederation of the Velet (1974, 50).

1018 Ch: *barānijalmin*; L: *badā.ħās*. Marquart suggested an ethnonym that survives in the city name Branichevo, at the mouth of the river Mlava (1903, 140). Lewicki holds as more probable the identification with Brenna, the Slavic name of Brandenburg (1974, 50).

1019 *Murūj* III, 63; I<sup>2</sup>, 143; Rotter 1978, 202; Kmoskó 1/2, 199–200; Pellat 1965 II, 341–342; Marquart 1903, 102.

geographical work.<sup>1020</sup> The identification and localization of the tribes mentioned in the list have been debated. Marquart located the majority of the quoted Slavic-speaking tribes north of the Carpathian Basin, and following him Lewicki put these tribes without exception in German, Slovak, and Polish territories. Lewicki located the tribe *Murāwa* in Czech Moravia.<sup>1021</sup> Miquel, accepting Marquart's suggestion, moved the residences of the Guduscani and Branichevci to the south, to the area on the lower Danube.<sup>1022</sup> Eggers emphasized that the Muslim author meant those Serbs and Croats who lived in the Balkans, and in that case the Moravians must have lived on the lower Danube between the Serbs and the Croats, according to the list.<sup>1023</sup> But to define the position of Moravia on the basis of this text seems a daring hypothesis.

Al-Mas'ūdī mentioned Moravia in his chapter on the Black Sea in the book that summarizes his literary career: "..., there are also other great rivers such as the Danubah and Malāwah, which is also its Slavic name. That is a mighty river which is about three miles wide, and it is several days' journey behind Constantinople; the habitations of the Nāmjīn and Murāwa belonging to the Ṣaḡālība are on this river, and many of the *Burghar* (Danube Bulgars) settled on it when they converted to Christianity."<sup>1024</sup> This was quoted in chapter 8 concerning the Danube. At the end of the 9th century, Germans, Moravians and Danube Bulgars lived along the Danube, a fact that perfectly fits the geographical picture of the age. Marquart defined the ethnonym *Burghar*, not as Danube Bulgars but as Magyars,<sup>1025</sup> which is provable in some cases but is out of question in this instance, as the date of the Magyar conversion to Christianity was later than the time of composition of al-Mas'ūdī's work. The river Malāwah was written as *Blāwah* in the Paris manuscript, which de Goeje emended to *Murāwah* i.e. Morava. The identification of this river is difficult, as two rivers need to be taken into consideration: the Morava is *March* in German and *Morva* in Hungarian; it is a left tributary of the Danube flowing into it at Devin, and the ethnonym *Morva* 'Moravian' in Hungarian is derived from this river name.<sup>1026</sup> At the same time, the other Morava (*Morava* in Hungarian) is a right tributary of the Danube which flows into the Danube near Smederevo, east of Belgrade, from the south. Marquart identified the term with the former; however, Miquel

1020 Leeuwen, Ferre 1992, 338; Geramb, Gruyter, 1927, 17; Kmoskó 1/2, 248.

1021 Lewicki 1974, 49.

1022 Miquel 1975, 314–315.

1023 Eggers 1995, 129.

1024 BGA VIII, 67; Kmoskó 1/2, 207, see Marquart 1903, 115.

1025 Marquart 1903, 115–122.

1026 Kiss, FNESZ II, 158–160; KMTL, 466–467.

preferred the latter.<sup>1027</sup> This description does not provide a secure footing for the determination of the residences of Moravia. To complicate the matter further, Eggers identified it with the river Mureş (Romanian) or Maros (Hungarian) without a firm basis to support his concept.<sup>1028</sup>

Ibn Ḥayyān, recording a Magyar raid against Andalusia in 942, gave a geographical description of their country: “North of them is the town Murāwa and the other countries of the Slavs ...”<sup>1029</sup> In this case, Morava clearly points to the territory of the Slavs who lived on valley of the river Morava north of the Danube.

Gardīzī’s two manuscripts contains different forms: the earlier Cambridge manuscript has *m.rwāt*, which is written as *m.rdāt* in the Oxford manuscripts; this seems a typical copyist’s error (مروات ~ مردات), as the *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam* preserved the form *m.rwāt*. Minorsky read the ethnonym as *mirwāt* without explanation of the vocalism, and he added that this term cannot denote the Magyars or the Mordvinians.<sup>1030</sup> The form *m.rwāt* can be derived from an old Hungarian form, the proper name *Marót*. In Hungarian, it is a borrowing of the plural form *Moravci*, the self-designation of the inhabitants of Moravia.<sup>1031</sup> The vowel of the first syllable may instead be read *u*: *Murwāt*. This term occurred as a proper name and place name in Hungarian from the first half of 12th century. The names *Morot*, *Morout*, or *Menu-morout* are mentioned in the Hungarian chronicles in connection with the Magyar conquest of the Carpathian Basin. According to Simonis de Kéza and the Vienna Illuminated Chronicle, *Morot* was Svatopluk’s father, the ruler of Pannonia and the only opponent of the conquering Magyars in the Carpathian Basin.<sup>1032</sup> The Hungarian Anonymus mentioned *Menumorout*, the grandson of Prince Marót, who was one of the five dominant rulers of the Carpathian Basin in Bihar. Anonymus named the territory after place names common in the area, and the name has nothing to do with the time of the conquest, namely the 9th–10th centuries.<sup>1033</sup>

On the basis of our sources, the history of Moravia began in the 9th century as well. According to the traditional conception, its central area was located in the valley of the rivers Morava and Thaya. Their messengers appeared in the imperial assembly in Frankfurt in 822. Their first well-known prince was Moimir

1027 Marquart 1903, 116; Miquel 1975, 311, note 11, 315.

1028 Eggers 1995, 131.

1029 Chalmeta 1979, 482; Elter 1996, 178; 2009, 57, 62.

1030 Minorsky 1937, 440–441.

1031 Benkó 1998, 70.

1032 Simonis de Kéza, 74–77, 80–81.

1033 Györfy 1993, 17–21, 209–211; Benkó 1998, 18, 35–36, 70–71.



(830–846), who put Prince Pribina to flight in 833, and he invested his nephew Rastislav in his place. The expansion of the Principality of Moravia meant also an increase in its power status. Moimir's newly-established strong position irritated Louis the German, the East Frankish ruler who led a campaign against Moravia in 846. After Moimir's death Rastislav became the prince of Moravia (846–870) with Frankish consent. After his accession to the throne Rastislav seemed at first a loyal subject to the East Frankish ruler. However, he refused to pay tribute to the Franks in 853 and as previously mentioned turned directly to the Pope in 855 to counterbalance the Bavarian church, which was under the direct influence of the East Frankish ruler.

The East Frankish campaigns against him were not successful, the attack of 855 having to be interrupted due to the uprising of the Transdanubian Frankish Prefectus of the Oriens. In 858 Louis the German sent his son Carloman as Prefectus of the Oriens against Rastislav and he succeeded in forcing the Moravian prince into submission. The revolt of Carloman changed the political situation and Rastislav made an alliance with the Magyars living east of the Carpathian Basin against the Pannonian Oriens, and he regained his independence in 862. Then he made contacts with Byzantium and per his request Constantine and Methodius arrived in Moravia. In 864 Louis the German forced Rastislav to renew his oath, and his nephew Svatopluk was appointed the Prince of Nitra to limit the power of Rastislav. In 869 Rastislav made an alliance with the Prefectus of the Carolingian Oriens and revolted against Louis the German, but the political situation changed rapidly when Carloman announced his renewed loyalty to his father, after which the combined forces of Loius the German, his son Carloman, and Svatopluk left Rastislav no chance. Upon his capture Louis the German had him blinded and locked in a monastery.

Svatopluk (870–894) thereupon came to the throne of the Principality of Moravia. He also had to face a Frankish attack in 872. As a counterweight to Frankish influence, he asked the Pope to consecrate Methodius Archbishop of Moravia, who came in his court in the second half of 873. Svatopluk submitted to the Frankish king Forchheim in 874, in spite of which he twice led campaigns against the new master of Pannonia, Arnulf, in 883 and 884, but he did not conquer or take possession of Pannonia. In 885 he made a peace with Arnulf for seven years that was respected by both sides. Svatopluk extended his rule as far as the Vistula and occupied the land of Bohemia in 890. However, hostilities broke out between him and Arnulf in 892, and the latter made alliance with the Magyars against Svatopluk. Although the campaign was not successful, Svatopluk concluded peace with Arnulf.

Svatopluk died in 894 and his successor was Moimir II (894–902), who ruled Moravia together with his brother Svatopluk II. In 895 Moimir II had peaceful



FIGURE 12 *Carpathian Basin in the age of Hungarian Conquest*  
MAP BY RICHÁRD SZÁNTÓ

relation with the Magyars, but he lost Bohemia. In 898 the two brothers came into conflict with each other and Arnulf, supporting Svatopluk II, sent Frankish armies twice (898, 899) to Moravia, which was devastated. Then Moimir II, together with a Frankish duke, took possession of Upper Pannonia, but the southern part of Pannonia, under the rule of Braslav, remained loyal to the Franks. Arnulf called Magyar troops via southern Pannonia to Italy to subdue his opponents there. The returning Magyar troops, having heard of the death of Arnulf in 899, took possession of Pannonia without difficulty. In fall 900, two Magyar armies marched on both banks of the Danube toward Bavaria. In 901 the Moravian envoy appeared at the imperial court, and a Bavarian-Moravian alliance was concluded against the threatening Magyar expansion. In 902 the Magyar prince sent a large army against Moravia and put an end to the Principality of Moravia.<sup>1034</sup>

According to the traditional view, Moravia was located north of the Danube along the rivers Morava and Thaya, but on the basis of certain details of

1034 Bóna 1984, 365–369; Györfly 1984, 597–615; Szóke B.M., Mojmir, morvák, Rastislav, Svatopluk: KMTL, 462, 467–468, 566–567, 658–659; Mähren, Politische Geschichte. 1. Großmährisches Reich: LexMA 6, 107.

Constantine Porphyrogenitus, some historians have formed the opinion that there was another Moravia in the southern part of the Carpathian Basin: “These nations are adjacent to the Turks (Magyars): on the western side Francia; on the northern side the Pechenegs; and on the south side great Moravia, the country of Sphendoplokos, which has now been totally devastated by the Turks, and occupied by them. On the side of the mountains the Croats are adjacent to the Turks,” and “... at the running back of the river, is the renowned Sirmium by name, a journey of two days from Belgrade; and beyond lies great Moravia, the unbaptized, which the Turks have blotted out, but over which in former days Sphendoplokos used to rule,” and finally, “The Turks live beyond the Danube, in the land of Moravia, but also on this side of it, between the Danube and Sava Rivers.”<sup>1035</sup> The first scholar in modern historiography to put forward the concept of southern Moravia in the area of Sirmium was Imre Boba in a book of 1971. A Hungarian translation, in which the preface by Péter Püspöki Nagy reviewed the literature up to 1995, was published in 1996.<sup>1036</sup> István Petrovics continued the review up to 2005 in his article in the *Boba Festschrift*.<sup>1037</sup> The latest introduction to the literature of the debate was written by Florin Curta.<sup>1038</sup> In short, Boba’s theory has provoked serious discussion.

Püspöki Nagy, referring to the list of peoples in the work of the Bavarian Geographer, identified *Marhari* with the Moravians next to Bohemia and *Merehani* with the inhabitants of Great Moravia in the south mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Accordingly, there existed two Moravias: the Great to the south of the Danube, including the valley of the Great (old) Morava river, the territory around Belgrade and Sirmium and even some parts of the Hungarian Lowland beyond the Danube; and Small (new) Moravia in the north.<sup>1039</sup> Senga Toru accepted the idea of two Moravias. He emphasized that the overthrow of Moravia from 900 to 902 and the occupation of Great Moravia immediately after the Magyar conquest of the Carpathian Basin in 895 were two different historical events. Rastislav was the ruler of the northern Moravia, while Svato-pluk was the prince of Great Moravia, which was situated between the Danube and Tisza rivers. He then united the two Moravias in 871, gaining the title of Prince of Nitra.<sup>1040</sup>

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1035 DAI, 64–65, 176–177, 182–183.

1036 Boba 1971, 1996.

1037 Petrovics 2005, 273–282.

1038 Curta 2009, 238–247.

1039 Püspöki Nagy 1983.

1040 Senga 1983, 307–345.

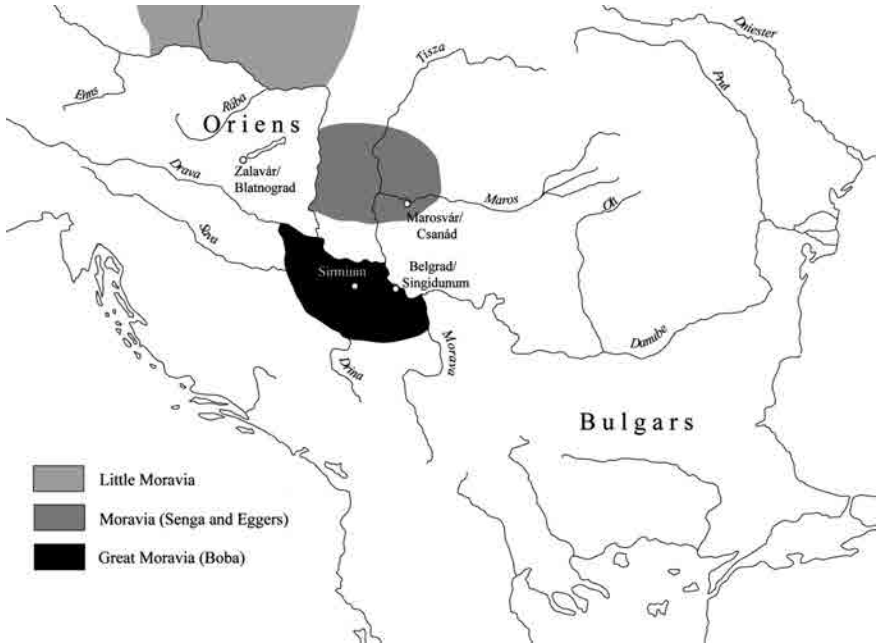


FIGURE 13 *Carpathian Basin (9th century)*  
MAP BY RICHÁRD SZÁNTÓ

Eggers devoted four hundred pages to the Moravian question in 1995. After the fall of the Avar Empire, south Slavic-speaking groups migrated from the valley of the Great Morava River to the territory of the Tisza-Maros Rivers, and several sources indicate that the center of Moravia was Marosvár/Csanád. Moravia was named after the river Morava. Svatopluk conquered the area of Nitra and Devin (Dévény) only in 871–874 and 880, and he founded a great power in the Carpathian Basin.<sup>1041</sup> Bowlus, studying the history of the southeastern marches of the Carolingian Empire in the 9th century, concluded that the Frankish campaigns against Moravia were launched from upper Bavaria and that Carantania was the most important strategic march of Bavaria, which seems to argue decisively for the southern location of Moravia.<sup>1042</sup> Gyula Kristó, analyzing Regino's report on the Magyar conquest of the Carpathian Basin, noted that the Magyars first conquered the *Pannonoiorum et Avarum solitudinis*, i.e. the plains east of the Danube, and then the *Carantanorum, Marahensium ac Vulgarum fines*, i.e. the southern marches stretching from Carantania through Moravia to Bulgaria.

1041 Eggers 1995. Reviewed by Birnbaum 1996, 189–192.

1042 Bowlus 1995; cf. also Bowlus 2009, 311–328.

Kristó emphasized that Moravia can be localized to the south in the vicinity of Sirmium, according to the geographical context.<sup>1043</sup>

There are two major arguments against the view that Moravia was part of Pannonia: 1. the history of Transdanubia, i.e. the province Oriens, which was under Frankish rule, is well-known. Svatopluk twice ravaged this area, but he did not take it into possession, and the Moravian conquest of North Pannonia in 899 lasted only for a short time. Bóna has pointed out that historians have treated the reports in the Hungarian chronicle about Svatopluk's reign in Pannonia as fact; however, it is rather late tradition of questionable historical worth.<sup>1044</sup> 2. According to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the population of Moravia was not Christian; however, Christianity struck deep roots in Pannonia during the 9th century: e.g. Pribina and his son Kocel were baptized, forming an important march with their center in Moosburg/Zalavár.<sup>1045</sup> Csanád Bálint refuted the existence of Moravia in the southern part of the Great Hungarian Plain due to the absence of archaeological finds of a massive Slavic bloc, in contrast to the rich archaeological material that confirms the traditional view.<sup>1046</sup> Langó called attention to the results of archaeology: As northern Moravia is the site of rich excavations, whereas the southern region of the Hungarian Plain, the vicinity of Sirmium and the valley of the Great Morava river, are poor in findings from the 9th century, most archaeologists have insisted on the traditional thesis of northern Moravia. However, the historical approach holds another option: the Byzantines founded a *Morava theme* in the 970s in the Morava Valley in Serbia.<sup>1047</sup>

Returning to the Muslim data of the Jayhānī tradition, the information that the Christian Moravians were the northern neighbors of the Danube Bulgars can be accepted as trustworthy, as it is corroborated by the data of Constantine Porphyrogenitus and Regino. The relationship between southern and northern Moravia in the 9th century is obscure, as Carolingian Pannonia separated the two territories and their inhabitants. The Magyar conquest of the Carpathian Basin made the separation permanent. The key to the solution of two Moravias is the fact, as already Györffy has noted, that two rivers, both called Morava, flow into the Danube, and probably the provinces and their Slavic-speaking

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1043 Kristó 1998a, 92–96; MHK, 322.

1044 Bóna 1984, 1604–1605.

1045 Cs. Sós 1994, 85–90. Béla Szóke has written a new monograph on this subject: Pannonia a Karoling-korban [Pannonia in the Carolingian period]. 2011: [http://real-d.mtak.hu/541/4/dc\\_205\\_11\\_doktori\\_mu.pdf](http://real-d.mtak.hu/541/4/dc_205_11_doktori_mu.pdf).

1046 Bálint 1996, 992–999.

1047 Langó 2012, 256–260.

inhabitants were called by the same name as the Morava River, that is, as Moravia and Moravians.<sup>1048</sup> The medieval Byzantine and Latin authors, having mostly incomplete knowledge of the two provinces and their inhabitants, gave confused and defective descriptions of them.

## 12 The Characteristic of the Magyar Lands

Ibn Rusta: The country of the Magyars abounds in trees and waters. Its ground is damp.

Gardīzī: The country of the Magyars abounds in trees. Its ground is damp.

*Ḥudūd al-‘ālam*: This country possesses many trees and running waters.

Al-Marwazī: The country of the Magyars abounds in trees.

Ibn Rusta used the expression *dhāt shajjar* ذات شجر in the description of the Magyar lands, while al-Marwazī wrote *dhāt mashājir* ذات مشاجر, describing forests. The Persian equivalent is *darakht* درخت. According to Zahoder, the description fits the typical forest zones for Eastern Europe, which is water-rich.<sup>1049</sup> The terms *sahl* سهل ‘level,’ *ṣaḥrā’* صحراء and *mafāza* مفازة ‘steppe’ are used for the steppe, as Gardīzī did in paragraph six when he mentioned *ṣaḥrā’*, but it is a secondary insertion on the basis of parallel passages, which excludes the presumption of Zahoder, i.e. that the Magyars were located exclusively on the steppe.<sup>1050</sup> The expression *āb-gīr* in Gardīzī’s text is translated ‘pond’ by Nyitrai and Martinez, but perhaps Kmoskó’s interpretation as ‘marsh, morass’ is closer to the original meaning of the text.<sup>1051</sup>

At the beginning of the 10th century, the Balkhī tradition recorded some data on the Magyar group that had remained in the East: “The Basjirt are of two kinds. The one is at the extremity of the Ghuzziyya country behind Bulghār. It is said that their total numbers amount to about 2000 men, in a strong position among woods (*fi mashājir*) where none can reach them. They obey the Bulghār.”<sup>1052</sup> The settlements of the eastern Magyars may be definitely located in the Volga-Kama region, which in fact belonged to the forest zone.

1048 Györfly 1993, 209–211.

1049 Zahoder 1962, 107–110.

1050 Zahoder 1962, 96.

1051 Nyitrai 1996, 73; Martinez 1982, 161; Kmoskó 1927, 20.

1052 Al-Iṣṭakhrī: Dunlop 1954, 98; Kmoskó 1/2, 31; BGA I, 225; Ibn Ḥawqal: BGA II<sup>2</sup>, 396; Wiet, Kramers 1964, 387; Kmoskó 1/2, 79.

There are other similar geographical descriptions of the countries of the Eastern European peoples. Al-Bakrī characterized the Pechenegs living east of the Volga thus: “The land of Bajānākiyya is quite flat (*suhūl*) without mountains and offers no protected place where they could take refuge.”<sup>1053</sup> Gardīzī noted in connection with the itinerary of the merchants that, “... because all of [that country’s] road[s] are [through] wood[ed lands] (*darakhtān*). These road[s] are made out from bearings [indicated by] the star[s] (i.e. by celestial navigation).”<sup>1054</sup> Ibn Rusta kept more detailed information related to the trade between the Pechenegs and the Khazars: “Between the Bajānākiyya and the Khazars is a journey of 10 days through desert and wooded country (*mafāwiz*, *mashājir*).”<sup>1055</sup> The desert and wooded country, meaning steppes and forests in connection with the Pechenegs, can be explained by the nature of nomadic migration: the Pechenegs wandered along the Ural River in the desert in winter, but they could reach the forest-steppe and even the forest zone during summer.

As for the geographical settings of the Khazars, Ibn Rusta recorded: “The population remains during the winter in these two cities. When spring days come, they go out to the steppe (*ṣaḥārā*) and continue there till the approach of winter.”<sup>1056</sup>

Ibn Rusta noted in an account of the Burtas who lived north of the Khazars: “They have a wide land, they live in forests (*mashājir*) ... Their land is flat (*sahla*), most of their trees (*ashjār*) are *khalanj*.”<sup>1057</sup> Gardīzī supplemented this: “They dwell in the prairie (*ṣaḥrā*) and the greater [part of] their trees (*darakhtān*) are larch (?) wood (*khalanj*) ... From their country to the Khazar [lands] is all prairie (*ṣaḥrā*) and the route is inhabited (or cultivated) [having] springs, trees and flowing rivers (*ābādān bā chashmhā wa darakhtān wa ābhā-yi rawān*).”<sup>1058</sup> The description refers to the inhabitants of the forest-steppe and forest zone lying the north of the steppe region of Khazars.

Ibn Rusta characterized the habitat of the Volga Bulgars as follows: “Their territory is forested (*ghiyād*) and the trees [here being] contiguous (*mashājir*)

1053 Leeuwen, Ferre 1992, 445; Kmoskó 1/2, 252; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 222.

1054 Ḥabībī 1963, 271; Martínez 1982, 152; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 166.

1055 BGA VII, 139; Dunlop 1954, 104; Wiet 1955, 156; Kmoskó 1/1, 203; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 51. These two terms are also found in the parallel passage of al-Marwazī (Minorsky 1942, a 21, 33; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 250).

1056 BGA VII, 139–140; Dunlop 1954, 105; Kmoskó 1/1, 204; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 53–54.

1057 BGA VII, 140–141; Kmoskó 1/1, 205–206; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 56; cf. al-Marwazī: Minorsky 1942, a 21–22, 33; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 251.

1058 Ḥabībī 1963, 273; Martínez 1982, 156; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 169.

*multaffa*) and they take up residence in them.”<sup>1059</sup> Gardīzī’s Persian text is identical in content: “All of their territory is forest[ed], the trees [here being] contiguous (*bīsha wa darakhtānash paywasta*). Within this environment they keep migrating from place to place.”<sup>1060</sup>

Ibn Rusta gave a similar description of the land of the Slavs: “There is a city close to the limit of the *Ṣaqālība* which is called *Wāntīt*. You travel through steppes (*mafāwiz*) and pathless country, by springs and through thick trees (*ashjār multaffa*) till you arrived in their country. The land of *Ṣaqālība* is flat (*sahla*) and wooded (*mashājir*). They inhabit them.”<sup>1061</sup> The Slavs lived in dense forests just as the Volga Bulgars did.

The settlements of the Rūs lay north of the Slavic-speaking communities deep in the forest zone, as Ibn Rusta indicated: “As for the Rūs, they live in an island surrounded by a lake. The island on which they live is three days [at length] [among] woods and forests (*mashājir wa ghiyād*). She is pestilential and damp (*nadiya*), if someone puts his foot on the ground, the ground quivers from its moisture.”<sup>1062</sup> It is however noteworthy that the term *nadiya* ‘damp’ in

1059 BGA VII, 141; Zimonyi 1990, 131; Kmoskó I/1, 206; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 58, note 51.

1060 Ḥabībī 1963, 274; Martínez 1982, 157; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 170.

1061 BGA VII, 143; Kmoskó I/1, 209; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 75–76. The parallel passage in Gardīzī reads as follows: “This is a route that is without a [cut] highway. However, it is a route [that goes] via many springs and trees (*chashmahā wa darakhtān-i bisyār*). [For] the *Saqālīb* country is a broad place with dense woods (*darakhtān-i anbūh*). They [themselves] dwell for most [part] within the woods (*darakhtān*).” Ḥabībī 1963, 276; Martínez 1982, 163; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 178. *Hudūd al-‘ālam*: “This is a vast country with extremely numerous trees growing close together (*darakhtān-i sakht bisyār paywasta*). The people live among the trees (*darakhtān*).” Sotoodeh 1962, 187; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 211. Al-Marwazī: “and between their territories and the territories of the Pechenegs is a distance of 10 days, along steppes (*mafāza*) and pathless country with thick trees (*ashjār multaffa*) and [abounding] in springs. They inhabit these forests (*mashājir*).” Minorsky 1942, a 22, 35; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 252.

1062 BGA VII, 145; Wiet 1955, 163; Kmoskó I/1, 211–212; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 81; Gardīzī: “As for the Rūs [country], it is an island that is situate[d] within the sea. The island is three day’s journey by three day’s journey and is entirely wood[ed] (*hamma darakhtān*). Its forest and earth are exceedingly damp (*nam*), so that if you put your foot on the damp, the ground quivers from the moisture (*nam*).” Ḥabībī 1963, 277; Martínez 1982, 167; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 180. Al-Bakrī: “As for the Rūs country, they live on an island surrounded by a lake. It stretches in length over a distance of five days’ journey. It has woods and forest.” Leeuwen, Ferre 1992, 490; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 234. Al-Marwazī: “The Rūs live in an island in the sea, its extent being a distance of three days in either direction. It has woods and forests (*mashājir wa ghiyād*) and is surrounded by a lake.” Minorsky 1942, a 23, 36; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 253.



the description of the territory of Rūs is the same word used by Ibn Rusta for the description of the Magyar country.

The data on the geographical features of Eastern Europe seem to reflect a clear distinction in the Muslim sources. The real forest zone was *mashājir multaffā* ‘dense forests,’ mentioned in relation with the habitat of the Volga Bulgars and Slavs. The worlds *ṣahrā* and *maḥāza* ‘steppe’ were typical for the habitat of the nomads. The terms *mashājir*, *ghiyād* ‘forests’ means generally the forest zone, but it can include forest-steppe zones in the southern territories.

According to Kmoskó, the description of the Magyars as typical nomads having yurts and following the pasture lands contradicts the statement in the account about the abundance in trees and waters of their lands. The first might refer to the steppe area on the Black Sea, the second to the Carpathian Basin.<sup>1063</sup> The contradiction can be solved without chronological and geographical distinctions, as the Magyar tribes lived in the steppe in the forest-steppe zone north of the Black Sea. A perfect analogy is Gardīzī’s note about the nomadic Kimāk: “They have no walled (or palisaded) [settlements]. Instead all [of them] dwell in forests and valleys and open steppes (*bīshhā wa darhā wa ṣahrā*).”<sup>1064</sup>

### 13 Magyar Agriculture

Ibn Rusta: They have a lot of sown fields.

Al-Marwazī: They also have sown fields.

The significance of agriculture has already been explained in the passage about the nomadic lifestyle of the Magyars and most of the parallel passages have been quoted above. This is corroborated by al-Mas‘ūdī, quoting two Muslim sources on the campaign of the Magyar-Pecheneg alliance against Byzantium in 934, and he listed the Magyars and the Pechenegs under double names as Turkic peoples: “We say that near Khazaria and Alania, to the westward, there lie four Turkic nations, who trace their descent originally from a common ancestor. They are both nomads (*badw*) and settled (*ḥaḍar*).”<sup>1065</sup>

The peoples of Eastern Europe had a developed agriculture on the basis of the data of the Muslim literature. Gardīzī noted on the Khazars: “There

1063 Kmoskó 1/1, 208, note 825.

1064 Ḥabībī 1963, 259; Martinez 1982, 122; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 112.

1065 *Murūj* 11, 58; 11<sup>2</sup>, 236; Dunlop 1954, 212; Rotter 1978, 103; Kmoskó 1/2, 182; Pellat 1962, 1, 177; see Marquart 1903, 61.

are many tilled fields (*kashtzārḥā*) and orchards in the Khazar country.”<sup>1066</sup> The Balkhī tradition reported of the Khazar economy: “The city (Ātil) has no villages. But their farms are extensive. They go out in summer for about twenty leagues through fields (*mazāri‘*) to sow. They collect some of the crop on the river and some on the steppe, and bring in their produce either on carts or by river.”<sup>1067</sup> Al-Mas‘ūdī reported tilled fields along the Volga: “The Khazars have skiffs in which they sail on a river upstream from their town, which flows into their river from the upper region and which is called Burtās; along it live sedentary (*ḥādīra*) Turkish tribes forming part of the Khazar kingdom. Their settlements (*‘amā‘ir*) extend in an uninterrupted succession between the Khazar kingdom and the Burghar (Volga Bulgars). This river comes from the direction of Burghar and boats ply it between the Burghar and Khazar.”<sup>1068</sup>

Ibn Rusta used the same term in connection with the agriculture of the Burtas as was used in case of the Magyars: “They have sown fields (*mazāri‘*).”<sup>1069</sup>

Ibn Rusta listed the major crops of the Volga Bulgars: “They are a people who have tilled sown fields, they sow all kinds of grains such as wheat, barley, millet and others.”<sup>1070</sup> Gardīzī has an expanded list of grains: “and have tilled, sown fields. Everything they sow is grains, such as wheat, barley, leaks, lentils, pulse, and anything else besides.”<sup>1071</sup> Ibn Faḍlān provides a detailed picture of the agriculture of the Volga Bulgars: “Most of what they eat is millet and horse meat, although wheat and barley are plentiful. Everyone who grows something takes it for himself, the king having no claim to it.”<sup>1072</sup>

Al-Mas‘ūdī recorded some information about the Alans, who lived in the foothills of the Caucasus: “His kingdom consists of an uninterrupted series of settlements (*‘amā‘ir*): when the cocks crow (in one of them) the answer

1066 Ḥabībī 1963, 273; Martínez 1982, 155; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 168.

1067 Al-Iṣṭakhri: BGA I, 221; Dunlop 1954, 93; Kmoskó 1/2, 28–29; Ibn Ḥawqal: BGA II<sup>2</sup>, 392; Kramers, Wiet 1964, 382; Kmoskó 1/2, 76.

1068 *Murūj* II, 14; II<sup>2</sup>, 215; Minorsky 1958, 148; Rotter 1978, 89; Kmoskó 1/2, 172; Pellat 1962, I, 163; see Marquart 1903, 336.

1069 BGA VII, 141; Kmoskó 1/1, 206; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 56; see Gardīzī: Ḥabībī 1963, 273; Martínez 1982, 156; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 169. Al-Bakrī: Leeuwen, Ferre 1992, 448; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 227. Al-Marwazī: Minorsky 1942, a 22, 33–34; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 251.

1070 BGA VII, 141; Kmoskó 1/1, 206; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 60.

1071 Ḥabībī 1963, 274; Martínez 1982, 158; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 170.

1072 Frye 2005, 54; Togan 1939, 27, 60; Kovalevskiy 1956, 136, 325; Canard 1958, 62; Lewicki 1985, 56–57, 104.

comes from the other parts of the kingdom because the villages are intermingled and close together.”<sup>1073</sup>

As for the Slavs, Ibn Rusta and the other authors of the Jayhānī tradition reflect another level of agriculture: “[They] have neither vines nor sown fields ... The majority of their crops consists of millet.”<sup>1074</sup> The absence of the tilled and sown fields and the existence of millet called attention to a difference of agricultural level between the Slavs and such other peoples as the Khazars, Volga Bulgars, Alans and Burtas who had developed cultivation.

Ibn Rusta informs us of the absence of agriculture among the Rūs: “They do not have sown fields, but they eat what they plunder from the land of the Ṣaqālība.”<sup>1075</sup> Accordingly, the Rūs were specialized first and foremost in military or commercial activities and they collected agricultural products from the subjugated population.

The sown fields of the Magyar tribal confederation correspond to the description of the agriculture of the neighbouring Khazars on the Volga, and of the Volga Bulgars and the Burtas, or the Alans living in the foothills of the Caucasus. The terminology of developed agriculture is well represented among the early Turkic loanwords in the Hungarian language. It is sufficient to mention such words as *eke* ‘plow,’ *árpa* ‘barley,’ *búza* ‘wheat,’ *borsó* ‘pea,’ or *arat-* ‘to mow.’<sup>1076</sup> Magyar agriculture was highly developed in the forest steppe zone before the conquest of the Carpathian Basin judging from the historical sources, archaeology, and ethnology, and contrary to older views it was not due to the Slavs. The history of the plow and plowing among the Hungarians has been studied by Balassa in a monograph, and the latest results have been reviewed by Bellon.<sup>1077</sup>

1073 *Murūj* II, 45; II<sup>2</sup>, 230; Minorsky 1958, 157; Rotter 1978, 99; Kmoskó 1/2, 180; Pellat 1962, I, 173.

1074 BGA VII, 143, 144; Kmoskó 1/1, 209, 210; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 76, 77. Cf. Gardīzī: Ḥābībī 1963, 276; Martínez 1982, 163, 164; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 178, 179. Al-Marwazī: “They have no vines ... They grow mostly millet, ...” (Minorsky 1942, a. 22, 35; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 252)

1075 BGA VII, 145; Kmoskó 1/1, 212; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 82. Cf. Gardīzī: “They [themselves] have no sowing or tillage, their crops being what they plunder from the Saqlābs.” (Ḥābībī 1963, 277; Martínez 1982, 167; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 180.) Al-Bakrī: “The Rūs do not have sown fields and live by their swords.” (Leeuwen, Ferre 1992, 491; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 234)

1076 Ligeti studied in detail the terms of agriculture among the old Turkic loanwords in Hungarian: 1986, 287–294; cf. Róna-Tas, Berta 2011, 70–71, 77–79, 154–157, 186–188, 313–317, 1161.

1077 Balassa 1973; Bellon 1997, 145–147.

14      **Magyars and Slavs**

Ibn Rusta: They overcome all the Şaqāliba who are their neighbours, imposing harsh provisions/victuals upon them, and treat them as their slaves.

Gardizī: They are always conquering the Şaqāliba and continuously imposing provisions upon them, and they treat them as their slaves ... (15) ... See par. 16 They overcome those of the Şaqāliba and Rūs, taking captives from them, they carry the captives to Rūm, and sell them there.

*Ḥudūd al-‘ālam*: The Majgharī are at war with all the infidels living around them and are (usually) victorious.

Al-Marwazī: They overcome those of the Şaqāliba and Rūs who are their neighbours, taking captives from them, they carry the captives to Rūm and sell them there.

‘Awfī: There is continuous war between them and the Şaqāliba and Rūs. They always defeat them, taking captives from them, they carry them to Rūm, and sell them.

Shukrallāh: The relationship between them and the Şaqāliba and Rūs is hostile, there are constant wars. The Turkman M.ḥr.q.h always defeat the Şaqāliba and Rūs, taking captives, they carry them to Rūm, and sell them.

Shūkrallāh: Between them and Şaqāliba and Rūs there are always wars and battles *in summer and in winter*. The Turkman M.ḥr.qh defeat constantly the people of Şaqāliba and Rūs. *Chained together in rows* they took them captives. *They pull off the stuff, clothes, the sable skin they wear from them and bring them naked to Rūm, and they sell [them].*

Muḥammad Kātib: The relationship between them and Şaqāliba and Rūs is always hostile. They defeat the Şaqāliba and Rūs constantly in their battles and wars. They take captives from them and bring them to the land of Rūm, and they sell [them].

Ḥājjī Khalīfa: Şaqāliba and Rūs are constantly at war with them. Usually they defeat them and taking captives they bring them to Rūm and sell them.

The Slavic-Magyar relations is discussed in four paragraphs: 14, 15, 16, 17. The parallel texts are shown in the following table, which includes the items of al-Marwazī, Ibn Rusta, Gardizī, and the *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam*.

The first column contains al-Marwazī’s text, which has been divided into four sections, as it reflects a logically developed story: the Magyars regularly attack the two neighbouring peoples and take prisoners from them, who they bring to Byzantium and to sell there. The same elements can also be found in the text of Ibn Rusta, though complemented with several additions. The third column contains Gardizī, its first three sentences as far as the sentence “The

al-Marwazī	Ibn Rusta	Gardīzī	<i>Ḥudūd al-ʿālam</i>
1. They overcome those of the Ṣaqāliba and Rūs who are their neighbours	1. They overcome all the Ṣaqāliba who are their neighbours.  <i>imposing harsh provisions/victuals upon them, and treat them as their slaves.</i>  <i>The Magyars are fire-worshippers.</i>	1. They always conquer the Ṣaqāliba.  <i>and continuously imposing provisions upon them, and they treat them as their slaves.</i>  <i>The Magyars are fire-worshippers.</i>	1. The Majgharī are at war with all the infidels living around them and are (usually) victorious.
2. taking captives from them	<u>They raid the Ṣaqāliba, and they take the captives along the sea-coast</u>	1. They overcome those of the Ṣaqāliba and Rūs 2. taking captives from them,	
3. they carry the captives to Rūm	till they reach a <u>harbour of Rūm, which is called K.rkh.</u> <b>It is said that the Khazars entrenched themselves some times ago against the Magyars and other peoples bordering their country.</b>	3. they carry the captives to Rūm,	

al-Marwazī	Ibn Rusta	Gardīzī	<i>Ḥudūd al-‘ālam</i>
4. and sell them there	<u>When the Magyars take the captives to K.rkh, the Rūm (Byzantines) go out to them</u> , and they trade there. <u>They buy Byzantine (rūmī) brocade, woollen carpets and other Byzantine goods for the slaves.</u>	4. and sell them there.	

Magyars are fire-worshipers” are identical with those of Ibn Rusta; however, the balance of Gardīzī’s text is a perfect equivalent of al-Marwazī’s basic variant, which can be divided into the same four units. The *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam* preserved the first part of the original information, but the author omitted the names of the neighboring nations. All in all, the original basic text can be reconstructed from the report of al-Marwazī, which was revised and complemented several times in other texts.

The first unit of the basic text is reflected in the texts of al-Marwazī, Ibn Rusta, Gardīzī and the *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam*. Ibn Rusta and Gardīzī mentioned only the Slavs, while the *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam* recorded the names of the infidels around the land of the Magyars. The basic text included both the names of the Slavs and Rūs, as al-Marwazī and Gardīzī’s second account reflect. After the first unit, Ibn Rusta and Gardīzī contain a common insertion about Magyar-Slavic relations, i.e. the Slavs supply food for the Magyars, who treat them as slaves. Perhaps this context motivated Ibn Rusta and Gardīzī to omit the ethnonym *Rūs*. This section is followed by the reference to the religion of the Magyars which might have distracted the original thread of the narrative, as afterwards Gardīzī repeated the basic text, agreeing with al-Marwazī, and Ibn Rusta in turn duplicated mention of the attacks of the Magyars against the Slavs before returning to the basic story.

Then, following the original version, Ibn Rusta supplemented the text with new data: the Magyars take the captives along the coast to a Byzantine port, which is called Karkh. Here they sell the slaves and buy Byzantine goods. This new information is indicated in the table by underlining.

The sentence about Khazar-Magyar relations was inserted in the middle of the section on Byzantine-Hungarian commerce, marked above in bold. Kmoskó has already described it as an “interpolation of dubious origin.”<sup>1078</sup>

Consequently, the study of Ibn Rusta’s text shows that the basic version must have been completed and supplemented perhaps three times. The basic text might have been put down between 870 and 895, then al-Jayhānī himself might well have revised his geographical work once or twice between 895 and 940. This is strongly corroborated by the information that al-Jayhānī’s geographical work was in use in a shorter and a longer version in the second half of the 10th century. Finally, it is possible that as copyist, Ibn Rusta may have inserted new data from that period. The first addition is in italics, the second is underlined, and the fourth hand is in bold in the table.

The formation of the text in later tradition can be reconstructed in the Turkish text of Shükralāh. The text belongs to the filiation from al-Marwazī. ‘Awfī translated the text first into Persian. Shukrallāh copied it in his Persian work, but his version recorded the wars and attacks of the Magyars against the Slavs and Rūs twice. Shükralāh used this text as the basis for the Turkish translation, in addition to which he inserted two additions: the wars last through summer and winter and the captives were chained in rows and were deprived of their clothes. These parts are in italics in the text. Janicsek suggested that these fragments could possibly have been taken from an earlier tradition.<sup>1079</sup> Nevertheless, these seem rather to be later additions than original data.

Minorsky quoted the second part of the Hungarian chapter on the verso of page 67 of ‘Awfī’s manuscript, preserved in the British Museum under the signature Or. 2676 in his commentary on the Magyar section of the *Hudūd al-‘ālam*. Minorsky read the text as: *miyān ishān wa ṣaqlābiyān dar dīn paywasta jang bāshad* (میان ایشان و صقلابیان در دین پیوسته جنگ باشد) and his translation is, “Between them and the Ṣaqlāb goes on a perpetual war about religion ...”<sup>1080</sup> I have studied the manuscript and the appropriate reading is not *dar dīn* but *wa Rūs* (در دین ~ وروس). This seems in short to be a misinterpretation of Minorsky’s, and Kmoskó was right when he translated it as: “Between them and the Slavs and the Rūs constantly are wars.”<sup>1081</sup> Nyitrai preferred a mixed solution by

1078 Kmoskó 1/1, 209, note 834.

1079 Janicsek 1929, 232–233.

1080 Minorsky 1937, 324.

1081 Kmoskó 1929, 52. Janicsek also translated the sentence as: “And between them and the Ṣaqlāb and the Rūs are constantly wars.” Janicsek 1929, 230.

putting together the two interpretations when translating the Persian text into Hungarian: “Between them and the Slavs and the Russians are constant wars in connection with religion.”<sup>1082</sup> The reference to religion is an idea of Minorsky’s that is absent from the text.

As for the regular raids and campaigns of the Magyars against the neighbouring Slavs and the Rūs to capture slaves and booty, this was not a unique phenomenon in medieval Eurasia. Even the Jayhānī tradition described wars and raids of this kind in connection with almost every people of Eastern Europe.<sup>1083</sup>

The Jayhānī tradition recorded similar data about the Pechenegs; al-Marwazī mentioned: “to the north are the Kipchak, to the south-west the Khazar, to the east the Oguz, and to the west the Slavs. These people all raid the Pechenegs, who [likewise] raid them.”<sup>1084</sup>

The Khazars also waged wars annually. Ibn Rusta stated: “They raid the Pechenegs (Bajānākiyya) every year.”<sup>1085</sup> Gardīzī preserved a completed version: “Every year they go to [make] war to the Pecheneg country, and sometimes it may be that [they go] to the Oguz and Burtas (Burdās) (countries) as well. From there (the Pecheneg country) they bring [back] booty and captive[s].”<sup>1086</sup> Gardīzī’s last remark needs explanation, for the Burtas were under the domination of the Khazar Khagan and direct attacks against the Oguz were possible after 895, when the majority of Pechenegs left their homes on the river Ural and moved westward and the Oguz took possession of their former lands, as Constantine Porphyrogenitus reported about this event.<sup>1087</sup>

Ibn Rusta recorded also the raids of the Burtas: “They raid the Bulgars (Bulkār) and Pechenegs (Bajānākiyya).”<sup>1088</sup> As the Burtas were subject to the

1082 Nyitrai 1996, 74.

1083 Zimonyi 1990, 140.

1084 Minorsky 1942, a 20–21, 32–33; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 250; cf. al-Bakrī: “North of them is the land of Kipchak (Kḥiḥāh), also called Qifāq. Southwest is the land of the Khazars (Khazar), in the east of the country Oguz (Ghuzziyya) and in the west the land of the Slavs (Ṣaqlab). All these people are attacking the Pechenegs.” Leeuwen, Ferre 1992, 445; Kmoskó 1/2, 252; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 221. Cf. Gardīzī: “On every side [a different] people borders on them [on the northern side] is the land of the Kipchak, southwest[ern side are] the Khazars, on the west[ern side are] the Slavs. [The Pechenegs] incite all these people[s] to raid [one another], and so they go marauding for the Pechenegs and taking captives and [the Pechenegs] sell [these].” Ḥabībī 1963, 271; Martínez 1982, 151; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 164–165.

1085 BGA VII, 140; Dunlop 1954, 105; Kmoskó 1/1, 204; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 54.

1086 Ḥabībī 1963, 272; Martínez 1982, 154; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 167.

1087 DAI, 166–167; Belke, Soustal 1995, 184.

1088 BGA VII, 140; Kmoskó 1/1, 205; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 56; Cf. Gardīzī: Ḥabībī 1963,



Khazar ruler, to whom they supplied ten thousand horsemen, they raided the Pechenegs, presumably as auxiliaries or on their own. The Volga Bulgar king was also dependent on the Khazar Khagan, but his conversion to Islam was a sign of seeking independence, which could be in part counterbalanced by the threat of the Burtas raids.

The Volga Bulgars, responding to their challenge, launched attacks against them, as Ibn Rusta reported: “Between the Burdās and these Bulkāriyya is a journey of three days. They (the Bulgars) raid them and attack them and take them captive.”<sup>1089</sup> However, the Volga Bulgars traded with the Khazars and the Rūs. The presence of Rūs merchants in Volga Bulgaria was described in detail by Ibn Faqlān; similarly, Khazars merchants were active among the Volga Bulgars. They belonged to the Khazar Khaganate, and when their ruler Almish officially embraced Islam in 922, this was considered a hostile step against the Jewish Khazar ruler, but the commercial interests of the Khazar dynasty were far more important. To assure the loyalty of the Volga Bulgars, the Khazar policy could keep the Bulgar rulers at bay with, among other tools, the help of the Burtas military threat.

The chapter of the Jayhānī tradition about the Slavs preserved a relevant datum in the works of Gardīzī and al-Marwazī, who mentioned that the Slavs built castles due to the attacks of the Magyars. This will be discussed in detail under paragraph 25.

As for the Rūs, the Jayhānī tradition provides a striking parallel passage with that of the Magyars. Ibn Rusta’s account is structurally the same: “(1.) They make raids against the Ṣaqālība, they sail in ships until they reach them (2.) and they take prisoners. (3.) They take them to Khazarān and Bulkār, (4.) they sell them to them. They do not have sown fields, but they eat what they plunder from the land of the Ṣaqālība.”<sup>1090</sup> Like the Magyars, the Rūs attacked the Slavs

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273; Martinez 1982, 155; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 169. Al-Bakrī: Leeuwen, Ferre 1992, 448; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 227. Al-Marwazī: Minorsky 1942, a 21, 33; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 251.

1089 BGA VII, 141; Zimonyi 1990, 139; Kmoskó 1/1, 206–207; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 62; cf. Gardīzī: Ḥabībī 1963, 274; Martinez 1982, 158; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 170.

1090 BGA VII, 145; Kmoskó 1/1, 212; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 81–82; cf. Gardīzī: “These people are always going [forth] in [their] ship[s] to raid the Saqlābs and they seize [people] from among the Saqlābs, make [them] captive and take them to Khazarān and Bulkār and sell them. They [themselves] have no sowing or tillage, their crops being what they plunder from the Saqlābs.” (Ḥabībī 1963, 277; Martinez 1982, 167; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 180.) Al-Bakrī: “They make raids against the Slavs on their ships.” (Leeuwen, Ferre 1992, 49; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 234.)

regularly to capture them, then these slaves were brought along the trade route along the Volga to the Volga Bulgars and the Khazars, where they were sold to the merchants of the Islamic world, whereas the Magyars sold their slaves to Byzantium. Simultaneously, both the Rūs and the Magyars forced the Slavs to provide them with food supply.

Arranging the data on the raids into a system, the political conditions of Eastern Europe become visible. The Pechenegs attacked the Khazars and presumably the Burtas, if the term Saqlāb refers to them, while the Khazars and Burtas regularly led counteroffensives against the Pechenegs. The relationship among the Khazars, Burtas, and Volga Bulgars living along the Volga were much more complicated, as the Burtas and the Volga Bulgars were subjects of the Khazar Khagans. The Khazars may have led campaigns against the territories of their vassals in case of revolt, but they preferred trade with the Burtas and the Volga Bulgars, as it was more lucrative. However, the Burtas and the Volga Bulgars also raided each other. The Magyars north of the Black Sea and the Rūs living in the north around the Valdai regularly waged wars against the Slavic-speaking population between them in the forest zone, capturing them and forcing them to pay tribute in foods. The Magyars also attacked the Rūs if they endangered their position in the Slavic area, or if the ships of the Rūs reached Magyar settlements. While Khazar—Burtas—Volga Bulgar and the Magyar—Slavic—Rūs relationships are well attested in the Jayhānī tradition, the connections between the two groups of peoples are vague. The Rūs—Volga Bulgar—Khazar relations were generally peaceful due to trade on the Volga, but the Jayhānī tradition omitted any determining information on the Slavic-Khazar and especially the Magyar-Khazar relationships except for the account of Ibn Rusta, which receives special attention later.

The *Russian Primary Chronicle* (*Povest' vremennyh let* PVL)<sup>1091</sup> contains several references to the relationship between the Slavic tribes and the Khazars. The first is to be read in the part without determination of the year: "After this time, and subsequent to the death of the three brothers (the legendary founder of cities Kiy, Shchek and Khoriv), the Polyanians were oppressed by the Derevliaus and other neighbors of theirs. Then the Khazars came upon them as they lived in the hills and forests, and demanded tribute from them. After consulting among themselves the Polyanians paid as a tribute one sword per hearth, which the Khazars bore to their princes and their elders, and said to them, 'Behold, we have found a new tribute.' When asked whence it was derived, they replied, "From the forest on the hills by the river Dnieper." The

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1091 Font 1996, 119–129.

elders inquired what tribute had been paid, whereupon the swords were exhibited. The Khazar elders then protested, 'Evil is this tribute, prince. We have won it with a one-edged weapon called a sabre, but the weapon of these men is sharp on both edges and is called a sword. These men shall impose tribute upon us and upon peoples lands.' All this has come to pass, for they spoke thus not of their own will, but by God's commandment."<sup>1092</sup> The tendentious nature of the story is obvious, but it reflected the fact that the area of the Polyanians i.e. Kiev, was under Khazar sovereignty. The story was recorded at least after 965, when Sviatoslav annihilated the Khazar Khaganate. In contrast with the legendary sword-tribute, the *Russian Primary Chronicle* mentioned another kind of tribute under the year 859: "In the year 6367. But the Khazars imposed it (tribute) upon the Polyanians, Severians, and Vyaticians, and collected a white squirrel-skin from each hearth."<sup>1093</sup> The fur-tribute seems to be corroborated by the fact that the Khazars imposed a tribute of a pelt of sable per house upon the Volga Bulgars.<sup>1094</sup> Under the year 862 Askold and Dir are reported to reach Kiev: "In the year 6370 ... They (Askold and Dir) thus sailed down the Dnieper, and in the course of their journey they saw a small city on a hill. Upon their inquiry as to whose town it was, they were informed that three brothers, Kiy Shchek, and Khoriv, had once built the city, but since their deaths, their descendents were living there as tributaries of the Khazars. Askold and Dir remained in the city, and after gathering together many Varangians, they established their dominion over the country of the Polyanians."<sup>1095</sup> According to the *Russian Primary Chronicle* Oleg murdered the two brothers and took over the rule of Kiev in 882 and then attacked the neighboring tribes: "In the year 6392 (884). Oleg attacked the Severianians, and conquered them. He imposed a light tribute upon them and forbade their further payment of tribute to the Khazars, on the ground that there was no reason for them to pay it as long as the Khazars were his enemies."<sup>1096</sup> "In the year 6393 (885). Oleg sent messengers to the Radimichians to inquire to whom they pay tribute. Upon their reply that they paid tribute to the Khazars, he directed them to render it to himself

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1092 Lihachev 1950, 16; Cross, Sherbowitz-Wetzor 1953, 58; Trautmann, 1931, 9; Müller 2001, 16–17.

1093 Lihachev 1950, 18; Cross, Sherbowitz-Wetzor 1953, 59; Trautmann, 1931, 11; Müller 2001, 19.

1094 Zimonyi 1990, 142.

1095 Lihachev 1950, 20; Cross, Sherbowitz-Wetzor 1953, 60; Trautmann, 1931, 11–12; Müller 2001, 21.

1096 Lihachev 1950, 39; Cross, Sherbowitz-Wetzor 1953, 61; Trautmann, 1931, 13; Müller 2001, 24.

instead, and they accordingly paid him a shilling (*shchelyag*)<sup>1097</sup> apiece, the same amount that had paid the Khazars. Thus Oleg established his authority over the Polyanians, the Derevliaus, the Severians, and the Radimichians.<sup>1098</sup> According to the *Russian Primary Chronicle* the Polyanians around Kiev and their eastern neighbours, the Severians, the Radimichians north of the Polyanians and east of the Dnieper, and the Vyatichians living northeast of the Severians and east of Radimichians were subjects of the Khazars in second half of the 9th century. Despite the chronological problems of the *Primary Chronicle* these tribes formed the southeastern branch of the East Slavic-speaking groups and they were close to the steppe dominated by the Khazars. After Oleg had moved his center of power to Kiev, he conquered the Polyanians, Severians, and Radimichians who had paid tribute the Khazars earlier. Submission of Vyatichians took place only in 964<sup>1099</sup> as a preparation of Sviatoslav's campaign against the Volga Bulgars and the Khazars, which eventually led to the fall of the Khazar Khaganate.

Returning to the question of the Magyar-Slavic relationship, it must be assumed that the Khazar rule over Severians, Polyanians, and Radimichians could not be maintained without the participation of the Magyar tribal federation. Constantine Porphyrogenitus clearly corroborated that the Magyar tribal league belonged to Khazar Empire, as his ruler was appointed by the Khazar Khagan and his title (*künde*) was in the third place in the hierarchy of the Khazar Khaganate.

### *Şaqāliba*

Muslim geographical literature used the term *Şaqāliba*, the plural of *Şaqḷab*, in different connotations. After studying the term, Nazmi concluded that it was applied to Slavic peoples and their countries in the Arabic geographical literature, but it meant especially "white slave originating from Europe" in Muslim Andalusia.<sup>1100</sup> Mishin devoted a monograph to the study of the term in Muslim literature. Muslim travelers of Eastern Europe applied the ethnonym to Slavic-speaking peoples, except for a few mistakes.

1097 The interpretation of the word is disputed it might go back to Old Scandinavian *skilling* or Anglo-Saxon *scilling* and could mean "coin" (Fasmer 1973 IV, 508–509; Pritsak 1998, 43).

1098 Lihachev 1950, 47; Cross, Sherbowitz-Wetzor 1953, 61; Trautmann, 1931, 14; Müller 2001, 24–25.

1099 Cross, Sherbowitz-Wetzor 1953, 84; Müller 2001, 79.

1100 Nazmi 1998, 74–77.

The situation was different within the Islamic world, where two meanings of *Ṣaqāliba* were in use. In the Muslim East Slavs moved from the Balkans to Asia Minor from 7th century and they partly migrated to Islamic territory, where they formed their own community and later assimilated into the local population. Another case was when the *Ṣaqāliba* reached the Islamic lands as slaves via one of three channels: 1. They were brought east of the Elbe from the Germanic-Slavic language border via Germania and Francia to Andalusia, and thence to North Africa, 2. another important mediator was Venice, 3. the Rūs captured slaves in Eastern Europe that they brought along the Volga to the Muslim East. By the 11th century, when the number of *Ṣaqāliba* was already insignificant, a new meaning was formed, 'eunuch'.<sup>1101</sup> Nevertheless, it is possible that in the Muslim geographical and historical literature, the term *Ṣaqāliba* in certain cases refers not only to a Slavic-speaking population but to other ethnic groups residing in the north.<sup>1102</sup> Gardizī mentioned in his introduction to the history of the Turkic-speaking peoples the biblical origin of the Turk, *Saqlāb*, and Gog and Magog. They were the descendants of Japheth. In this case, the names do not refer to ethnicity but rather primarily reflect lifestyles, i.e. the *Turk* were nomads while *Saqlāb* were forest dwellers, whereas *Gog and Magog* might refer to the unknown barbarians of the tundra beyond them.<sup>1103</sup>

Accepting the traditional view, Kalinina identified the name *Ṣaqāliba* in the Jayhānī tradition with the eastern or western Slavs.<sup>1104</sup> Nazmi, following Minorsky, suggested the Slav groups living north of the Black Sea in the vicinity of the Rūs.<sup>1105</sup> Mishin assumed in this case that *Ṣaqāliba* referred to the white Croats and Kievan Polyanians east of the Carpathian Mountains.<sup>1106</sup>

As for the early history of the East Slavic tribes, Goehrke published an overview in 1992 on the basis of the various written, linguistic, and archaeological sources. By the 10th century, politically organized Slavic ethnic groups, i.e. tribes with self-designations, can be assigned with certainty, both in the Slavic and the foreign sources. The history of the East Slavic-speaking groups can traced back to the 6th century. Goehrke reconstructed an older grouping of Eastern Slavic tribes:

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1101 Mishin 2002, 308–310.

1102 Zimonyi 1995, 75.

1103 Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 96, note 11.

1104 Kalinina 1994, 220–224.

1105 Nazmi 1998, 86.

1106 Mishin 2002, 50–60.

1. Volhynians, on the territory of Volhynia as far as the Polish language barrier;
2. the (White) Croats, in Galicia and in the Carpathians—in the 10th century they were probably assimilated into the Volhynians;
3. Derevliaus, south of the middle course of the Pripyat’;
4. the Polyanians, around Kiev on both banks of the Dnieper; and
5. Ulichians, south of Kiev—they settled as far as the southern Bug and the upper Dniester in the first half of the 10th century.

Two other tribes are listed in the older group:

1. Severians, east of the middle course of the Dniester, but it is debatable whether they were natives there;
2. Tivercians, north of the Danube, far from the core territory of the Eastern Slavic tribes under Danube Bulgar sovereignty—they were ethnically heterogeneous and it is doubtful whether they belonged to the Eastern Slavic groups.

Goehrke distinguished five tribes as later formations. They settled in territory inhabited by Finnish and Baltic-speaking groups. Their infiltration started in the 8th–9th centuries. These tribes are:

1. Dregovichians, between the upper reaches of the Pripyat’ and Dnieper;
2. Radimichians, between the Dnieper and Desna;
3. Krivichians, in the area bordered by the Dvina, Dnieper, and upper Volga;
4. Slovens, in the area of Lake Ilmen; and
5. Vyatichians, in the area of the upper Oka.

The term ‘tribe’ itself can denote a large variety of groups at different levels of political, social and ethnic organization. In many cases it is difficult to decide whether ‘tribe’ refers a single tribe or a tribal league or territorial unit. The cohesive factor of the community occurs in the form of a legend of common descent, which is often reflected in eponymous heros (e.g. Vyatko, Radim). These groups assured internal peace and cohesion with common laws and customs. In the 6th and 7th centuries, only smaller units, i.e. clans or residential communities, were formed. The first major formations which can be regarded as tribes arose only in the 9th or 10th century. As tribal confederations, the Volhynians in the description of al-Mas‘ūdī, the Severians as described by the Bavarian geographer, and the Ulichians can be taken into consideration.<sup>1107</sup> Curta brought

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<sup>1107</sup> Goehrke 1992, 45–47.

new perspective to the study the ethnogenesis of the Slavs in stating that the Byzantine authors used the ethnonym Slavs for non-nomadic tribes along the lower Danube, and no data are available about their self-consciousness and self-designation.<sup>1108</sup> Tolochko studied the Slavic tribes of the *Russian Primary Chronicle* and pointed out that the Polyanians around Kiev were regarded as the first tribe to embrace Christianity and played a central role in the formation of Kievan Rus'; however, the fact that they were not mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus or other sources calls for explanation: they were late-comers to their territory or they received this historical role from the author of the 12th century.<sup>1109</sup> In spite of several contradictions, the Slavic-speaking communities living in the vicinity of the steppe zone must have been under the control of the Khazar Khaganate in the 9th century.

### *Rūs*

The Muslim ethnonym *Rūs* corresponds to Byzantine *Rhos*, which is identical with the Slavic *Rus'*. It is an older borrowing of variants of the ethnonyms Finnish *Ruotsi* and Estonian *Rootsi* 'Swedes' in the Slavic languages, which are ultimately traced back to the Swedish word *Rodr* 'rowing team'.<sup>1110</sup> The *Rūs* of the Muslim sources meant Northmen in the 9th century, which were war bands that came from Scandinavia.

Franklin and Shephard reviewed the infiltration of the Northmen into Eastern Europe. First, the Scandinavians were present on the east coast of the Baltic Sea from the Iron Age. They left their mark in the 6th century on Lake Ladoga. There were significant changes around the middle of the 8th century. On the one hand, a new Muslim dynasty seized power in the Caliphate in 750 and they established a flourishing trade with Eastern Europe, and as a result silver dirhams appeared in the forest zone reaching Scandinavia. On the other hand, an important Scandinavian trade center developed on the river Volkhov: Old Ladoga. This area was inhabited by Baltic and Finno-Ugric-speaking tribes at that time. Another important center was Sarskoe Gorodishche in the Merya territory, which played an important role in the influx of dirhams to the north. The dirhams came from the central districts of the Caliphate via the Caucasus, either along the Volga or across the steppe along the Don and the Donets, until reaching the northern forest zone, the aforementioned center of the Merya.

1108 Curta 2001.

1109 Tolochko 2008, 180–182.

1110 Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 81, note 141; Callmer 2000, 73.

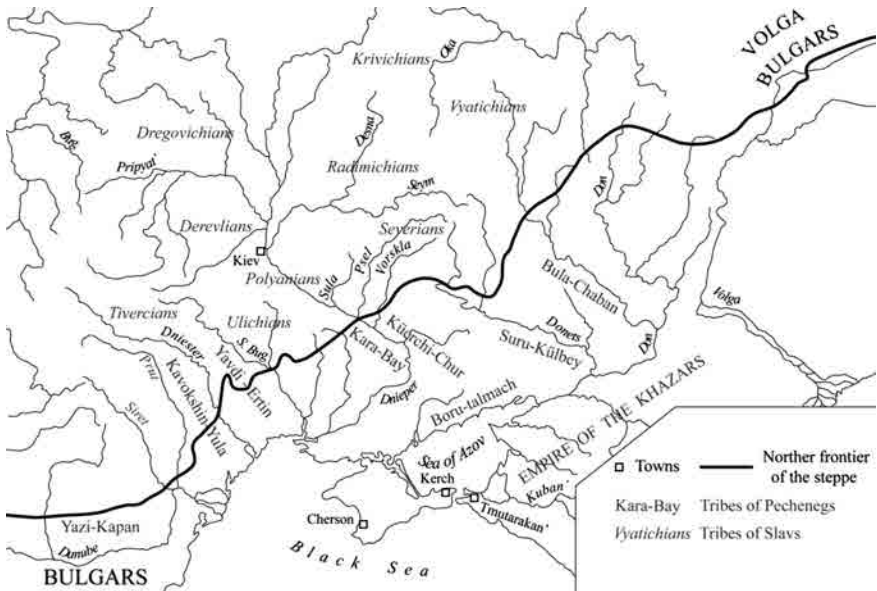


FIGURE 14 *The South Russian steppe after the Hungarian Conquest*  
MAP BY RICHÁRD SZÁNTÓ

The name *Rhos* emerges for the first time in *Annales Bertiniani* in 839: Rus' envoys came to the court of the Emperor Louis the Pious. Its ruler is known as *Chaganus*, which is a well-known title *Khagan* in the Turkic languages, which may be connected with the Khazar Khagan. The residence of the Rus Khagan can be located in Old Ladoga, Rurikovo Gorodishche near Lake Ilmen, or the center of the Merya. There were important rearrangements within the realm of the Rus Khagan in the middle of the 9th century. The Rus attacked Constantinople with around 200 ships and devastated the surrounding area in 860. They were probably new arrivals from Scandinavia who devastated Old Ladoga and Rurikovo Gorodishche in the 860s. The *Russian Primary Chronicle* recorded the struggles of different groups of Rus in the stories of Rurik, Askold and Dir, and Oleg, which may reflect changes that coincided with the silver crisis during the period from 870 to 900, as the number of finds becomes sparse.

From the end of the 9th century the dirhams came from Transoxania, ruled by the Samanids, via the Kazak steppe to the confluence of the Volga and Kama, where the Volga Bulgars stabilized their power as mediator of Eastern commerce. The role of the Volga route was upgraded and the Volga Bulgars became a significant military power assuring the security of trade. The Rūs sold and bought commercial goods in the territory of the Volga Bulgars, as reported by Ibn Faḍlān as an eyewitness in 922. The Rūs centers on the upper Volga



faced a well-organized political formation and trade partners in the direction of the middle Volga. The Rūs extended trade with Central Europe as early as the middle of the 9th century, penetrating to the middle Danube. The third option was the expansion along the Dnieper to the south, but the waterfalls were serious obstacles, and as the Magyar tribal confederation kept the slave trade with Byzantium in their hands, the Rus' did not have the opportunity to gain a foothold in this direction.

The decisive turning point in the history of Rus was the conquest of Kiev from the north. According to the *Russian Primary Chronicle*, Oleg took this decisive step in 882. However, Franklin and Shephard dated this event to the first decades of 10th century due to the chronological uncertainties and the internal contradictions of the description. They connected the southern expansion with three significant changes: 1. In 895 the Pechenegs took possession of the steppe zone north of the Black Sea, forcing the Magyars to migrate to the Carpathian Basin; 2. The excavation of the city of Kiev indicates that it became an important center only in the 10th century; 3. The *Russian Primary Chronicle* recorded that the Rus made commercial treaties with Byzantium in 907 and 911.<sup>1111</sup> Callmer explained the invasion of Scandinavians in Eastern Europe through the demand for furs. He put the first phase of contacts between 500 and 750 and regarded these as regular trade relations. The second epoch, between 750 and 860, was the period during which a commercial network developed within Eastern Europe that was characterized by Scandinavian economic and political dominance from the lake Peypus to the Volga and from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea. Rus supremacy took different forms, but was mostly based on mutual benefits with the local communities.

They made contact with the Khazar Khaganate in the 760s. From the first half of the 9th century a new great power was founded in these northern areas whose rulers held the title Khagan, which meant a sovereign ruler among the Turkic-speaking nomads; however, the size of the Scandinavian population was relatively small. Their archaeological monuments have parallels with those on the island of Åland and the Swedish lake Mälaren. In the 860–870s other groups came from Scandinavia who destroyed the old centers and who possessed a militant and hierarchical system. Instead of cooperation and mutual advantages they used force against the local population, imposing taxes on them and capturing them. In 870–900 trade with the East declined.<sup>1112</sup> Zuckerman put forward a new interpretation of the data of the *Russian Primary Chronicle*. The

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1111 Franklin, Shephard 1996, 3–111.

1112 Callmer 2000, 45–85.

chronology of events of the 9th century in the *Russian Primary Chronicle* is not reliable, as the chronicler attempted to date events two hundred years later. The chronological problems have been perceived by historians, who put question marks after the dates. Due to the written sources and the results of archaeology Zuckerman suggested a new chronological framework. Accordingly, the rule of Rus Khagans lasted from 833 to 870, which is fully corroborated by archaeological material along the river Volkhov. Zuckerman connected the penetration of a new archaeological culture in this northern area with Slavic-speaking tribes, which is reflected in the story of the *Russian Primary Chronicle* stating that the local tribes drove out the Varangians because of oppressive taxes, but as they could not agree among themselves, a severe crisis occurred that could only be eliminated by the invitation of other Varangians under Rurik. The expulsion of the Varangians and Rurik's invitation happened in the same year, 862, in the *Russian Primary Chronicle*. Zuckermann supposed that several years may have passed between the two events in reality.

The date of the formation of Rurik's power is framed by the following events: The new Scandinavian buildings on Lake Ladoga from about 895, the reconstruction of Rurikovo Gorodishche after the end of the 890s, and the revitalization by 900 of trade after the first silver crisis.<sup>1113</sup> Duczko, reviewing the archaeological material and taking into account the data of the sources, concluded that the Varangians played a dominant role in the northern part of Eastern Europe in the 9th–10th centuries: they had fortified sites and villages with a rural population, and Kiev was ruled by only one group of the Rus. The Northmen constituted a significant community in the mid-8th century in Old Ladoga on the Volkhov. Around 850 new waves came from Scandinavia. Old Ladoga was destroyed and rebuilt by 900 and Rurikovo Gorodishche on the Volkhov became a new significant center. From the end of the 9th century, other new centers evolved on the upper and middle Dnieper and between the upper Volga and Oka. Gnëzdovo and Chernigov flourished as important centers of the Northmen. There were about 25 Varangian settlements on the Upper Volga and Oka, representing the largest Scandinavian population in Eastern Europe. The Rurikids stabilized their power on the Middle Dnieper by the mid-10th century, when their southern center was Kiev; while they were only one group of the Rus, they were able to survive and form Kievan Rus.<sup>1114</sup>

From the studies presented above, it can be concluded that both the archaeology and the sources indicate the presence of the Varangians in Eastern

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1113 Zuckerman 2000, 95–118.

1114 Duczko 2004.

Europe in the 9th century, which can be connected the flourishing trade with the East. The first centers for Varangian traders were in the north, where they extended their rule over Baltic and Finno-Ugric speaking communities to assure the supply of precious goods: fur, honey, wax, and slaves. The majority of the Slavic-speaking groups may have lived in the southern areas of the forest belt in the 9th century. One part of them were under Khazar supremacy, as the Khazars were able to obtain the same products from them. Rūs merchants visited Khazar territory along the Volga and Don to buy dirhams. The Rūs tried to forge ties with Byzantium along the Dnieper, but the Magyar tribal confederation controlled the area and restricted their opportunities. By the end of the 9th century, a new wave of Northmen appeared and consolidated its power in the northern regions, at the same time that the Pechenegs crossed the Volga and attacked the Magyars in 895, forcing them to move westwards and take possession of the Carpathian Basin. This was a mortal blow to the great power status of the Khazar Khaganate, who lost rule over numerous areas and tribes as a result. As the Magyars had ensured domination over the Slavs on the Dnieper and to its west in the forest zone, the Magyar migration in 895 created a power vacuum in that region that a northern Rūs group could fill. This may have been the real motive for the conquest of Kiev some time after 895. Another decisive event was the change of trade routes around 900 which was advantageous for the Volga Bulgars, as they took control of the main trade routes leading to Eastern Europe, and with the embrace of Islam their ruler tried to loosen his dependence on the Khazar Khagan. The shifting of the center of one group of Rūs under the Rurikids to Kiev also had important consequences from the ethnographic point of view. The town and its surroundings were inhabited by Slavic-speaking peoples and the Slavicization of Rūs proceeded rapidly.<sup>1115</sup> The main road of Kievan Rus was the Dnieper, which connected it with Byzantium, which in turn had far-reaching cultural and political consequences.

### *Kiev and the Magyars*

The relations between Kiev and the Magyars were recorded in the Latin sources of the medieval Hungarian kingdom: Anonymus, a notary of King Béla, Simonis de Kéza, and the author of the Chronicle Composition of the 14th century. According to Anonymus, Duke Álmos came from Suzdal toward Kiev. Learning this, the Duke of Kiev made an alliance with the seven dukes of the Cumans

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1115 The Magyar-Russian relationship is an ambiguous term, as it might refer to either the early contacts with the Scandinavian Rus' or the later Slavicized Kievan Rus. Hellmann offers a comprehensive picture from the older use of the term Rus (Hellmann 1981, 1–7).

to oppose the Magyars. The Magyars defeated the allied forces in a battle, and the rest of the Rus and the Cumans returned to the city of Kiev, on which the Magyars laid siege. The Rus and Cumans in Kiev asked for peace. Duke Álmos demanded their sons as hostages, an annual tribute, foods, clothes and other necessities for the peace. The Rus dukes met these claims and advised Duke Álmos to move to Pannonia. The Cuman dukes subjected themselves voluntarily to Duke Álmos, joined the Magyars, and moved with them to Galicia.<sup>1116</sup> Simon de Kéza reported these events only to this extent, that of the Magyars, “They passed through the realms of the Pechenegs and the White Cumans and by the city of Kiev.”<sup>1117</sup> The Chronicle Composition of the 14th century copied from the same source.<sup>1118</sup>

Shusharin reviewed the Hungarian historiography on the Latin sources and concluded that Anonymus, the notary of King Béla, used an old historical tradition that recorded the struggles and peaceful relationships between the Magyar tribes and the Rus. The peace between them allowed the Hungarians to conquer Pannonia.<sup>1119</sup> Szaharov added that the peace treaty described by Anonymus, the notary of King Béla, is historically reliable and it included the annual tribute and the obligation of military service as an ally.<sup>1120</sup> Earlier, Kristó had considered the march at Kiev as an authentic Hungarian tradition in the work of Anonymus, but the data and the nature of relationships cannot be defined.<sup>1121</sup> However, others have pointed out that the report only preserved the memory of Hungarian-Russian relations in the 11th–13th centuries and has no value as a source for the period prior to the conquest.<sup>1122</sup>

The *Russian Primary Chronicle* reported the conquest of Kiev by Oleg in 882, in which there are references to the Magyars: “He thus came to the foot of the Magyar hill, and after concealing his troops, he sent messengers to Askold and Dir ... They killed Askold and Dir, and after carrying them to the hill, they buried them there, on the hill now known as Hungarian (*Ugorskoye*), where the castle of Ol'ma now stands. Over that tomb Ol'ma built a church dedicated to St. Nicholas, ... 6406 (898). The Magyars passed by Kiev over the hill, now called Hungarian (*Ugorskoye*), and on arriving at the Dnieper, they pitched camps

1116 SRH I, 42–47; Rady 2009, 691–693; HKÍF, 288–293.

1117 SRH I, 164–165; Simonis de Kéza, 78–79; HKÍF, 352.

1118 SRH I, 286; HKÍF, 358.

1119 Shusharin 1961, 131–171.

1120 Szaharov 1986, 111–115.

1121 Kristó 1982, 63.

1122 Bóna 2000, 21–24.

...<sup>1123</sup> *Ol'ma's* castle or court (*dvor*) was identified by the court of Álmos, i.e. the father of Árpád and probably the Magyar prince, but the personal name *Ol'ma* has nothing to do with *Álmos*, which is a Turkic borrowing, and furthermore the source refers to the court of a Christian Kievan noble of the 11th century who built a new church. As *Ugorskoye* 'Hungarian' is a neuter adjective, so the modified noun was clearly neuter also. H. Tóth posited the noun as Russian *selo* 'settlement' and a Magyar settlement on a hill next to Kiev was put forward as a new concept, but in fact this could not be an early settlement of pagan Magyars. Rather, as Kristó and H. Tóth suggested, it was the settlement of Hungarian merchants on the top of a mountain next to Kiev that was settled in the 11th century, and was well known to the author of the *Russian Primary Chronicle*.<sup>1124</sup>

Magyar-Slavic relations were defined in different forms. Vernadsky formulated the concept that Askold and Dir in Kiev were both vassals of the Magyar prince and Magyar rule over Kiev ended after their defeat by Oleg in 882. Then Oleg led a campaign against the Tivercians and Ulichians, which was in fact war between the Magyars and Oleg.<sup>1125</sup> Györffy, referring to the Hungarian name of an important river crossing on the Dnieper, assumed that the Magyar nobles imposed tribute upon Polyanians around Kiev, either under the authority of the Khazar ruler or on their own.<sup>1126</sup> According to Márta Font the Magyars on the Black Sea had thrown off Khazar dependence and collected tribute from the Slavic-speaking peoples around Kiev living to their north, but they were not identical with those mentioned anachronistically in the *Russian Primary Chronicle* as Polyanians. In contrast, there were no wars between the Rus' and the Magyars because Oleg took possession of Kiev as a result of the Magyar Conquest in 895, when Magyar rule of Kiev came to an end.<sup>1127</sup>

Bóna and Fodor took the excavations in Kiev and its surroundings into consideration. Magyar warriors may have lived in the settlements around Kiev, either in the service of the Khazar Khagan or recognizing Khazar supremacy.<sup>1128</sup> There is a tendency to minimize the role of Magyar rule over the Slavs and to deny or reject a relationship between Kiev and the Magyars in the 9th century. Shusharin reviewed the Latin, Russian, and Muslim sources and suggested that there were fundamentally peaceful relations between the Slavs and the

1123 Lihachev 1950, 39; Cross, Sherbowitz-Wetzor 1953, 61–62; Trautmann 1931, 13–14; Müller 2001, 24. HKÍF, 173–174.

1124 Kristó, H. Tóth 1996, 22–24.

1125 Vernadsky 1948, 24–25.

1126 Györffy 1990, 24.

1127 Font 2001, 98–99.

1128 Bóna 2000, 22–23, 98; cf. Fodor 2008, 199–208.

Magyars, although conflict might have occurred temporarily, which precludes the idea that the Magyar prince subjected the Eastern Slavic tribes.<sup>1129</sup> Soloviev, Kristó, and H. Tóth rejected the theory of Magyar sovereignty over Kiev, because the Hungarian place name next to Kiev was dated to the 11th century and was a monument of later contacts.<sup>1130</sup> Tóth attempted to find a compromise, stating that Magyar raids mainly concerned the Tivercians and Ulichians between the Dnieper and the lower Danube, while the Slavic-speaking tribes settled between the Dnieper and the Don remained under the rule of the Khazars. As the Magyars became independent of Khazar domination by the 870s, Magyar hegemony over Kiev is out of question.<sup>1131</sup>

In summary, the Magyars in the second half of the 9th century apparently had contact with the southernmost East Slavic-speaking peoples. Magyar merchants reached the Byzantine territories in the Crimean peninsula, it is likely that their lands and area of control might have extended to areas east of the Dnieper. They must have had contacts with the Severians, the Polyanians around Kiev or their ancestors, the Radimichians, and the Ulichians and Tivercians. According to the *Russian Primary Chronicle*, the Khazars collected tribute from the Polyanians, Radimichians, and Severians, perhaps under the control of Khazar governors, but their military protection could be ensured only with the help of the Magyars, in return for which the Khazar ruler allowed the slave trade with Byzantium to be carried out by the Magyars. There were direct contacts between the Rus' and the Magyars. Probably the envoys of the Rus crossed Magyar territory when travelling to Constantinople in 838, and they came to the court of Louis the Pious from there. In 860 the Rus attacked Constantinople by sea, at which time the lower Dnieper could only have been used unmolested with Magyar permission. The conquest of Kiev by Oleg brought dramatic changes to the lands around Kiev, which was in turn a major consequence of the westward migration of the Magyars in 895, so the date of 882 mentioned in the *Russian Primary Chronicle* seems to be an inaccurate later interpolation.

### *Provisions*

The Arabic term *ma'ūna*, plural *mu'an* (مؤونة مؤن) was translated in different ways: Wiet translated Ibn Rusta's relevant passage: "et leur imposent un lourde tribute,"<sup>1132</sup> while Czeglédy's Hungarian translation reads, "They levied on them

1129 Shusharin 1961, 179.

1130 Soloviev 1960, 123–129; Kristó, H. Tóth 1996, 21–24.

1131 Tóth 1999, 158–159.

1132 Wiet 1955, 160.

severe food taxes.<sup>1133</sup> The parallel passage of Gardīzī was interpreted by Nyitrai in Hungarian as, “They harass the Slavs,”<sup>1134</sup> while the English translation of Martinez is, “and continuously imposing harsh services (corvées) on the Saqlābs.”<sup>1135</sup> The services imposed by the Magyars on the Slavs is difficult to interpret. Lane gave the following meanings: ‘a weight, burden; trouble, molestation, or embarrassment; requisite means of subsistence.’<sup>1136</sup> Dozy also offered a wide range of meanings: ‘soin, pain; travail, travail pénible; les besoins de la vie; impôt, contribution; impôt d’approvisionnement; les frais de subsistance, de l’entretien de quelqu’un; provision.’<sup>1137</sup> The Persian dictionary of Steingass reflects the same variations: ‘maintaining, feeding; provisions; daily food; power, strength; trouble, molestation.’<sup>1138</sup> Martinez’s interpretation as ‘corvee’ has other connotations and perhaps Czeglédy’s translation as ‘food tribute’ is more accurate, as the Arabic verb that the noun is derived from means ‘to sustain, maintain.’

Ibn Rusta described a similar phenomenon in the chapter on the Rūs: “They do not have sown fields, but they eat what they plunder from the land of the Ṣaqlāliba.”<sup>1139</sup> Gardīzī recorded the matter more precisely: “[Bands of] a hundred or two hundred [merchants] are always going from them to the Saqlāb [country]. [These] take all [the provisions they] require [for the journey] (*naḡaḡāt*) from them by force for as long as they are there. And from the Saqlābs many people go there [willingly] and work as bond [servants] for the Rūs that they might [thereafter] be free of [further obligation of] service.”<sup>1140</sup> This corresponds to Constantine Porphyrogenitus’ description concerning the Rus’: “The severe manner of life of these same Russians in winter-time is as follows. When the month of November begins, their chiefs together with all the Russians at once leave Kiev and go off on the *‘polydia’*, which means ‘rounds’, that is, to the Slavonic regions of the Vervians (Derevlians), Dregovichians and Krivichians and Severians and the rest of the Slavs who are the tributaries of the Russians. There they are maintained throughout the winter, but then once more, starting from the month of April, when the ice of the Dnieper River melts, they

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1133 MEH, 88.

1134 Nyitrai 1996, 73.

1135 Martinez 1982, 161.

1136 Lane VIII, 3016.

1137 Dozy, Supplement 2, 565–566.

1138 Steingass 1977, 1349.

1139 BGA VII, 145; Kmoskó I/1, 212; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 82.

1140 Ḥabībī 1963, 277; Martinez 1982, 169; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 181.

come back to Kiev.”<sup>1141</sup> Moravcsik translated into Hungarian their maintenance as “parasitizing there in winter.”<sup>1142</sup> The Greek term διατρέφω was identified with *kormlenie* “feeding, nourishing” in the Russian chronicles.<sup>1143</sup> This kind of obligation may have included the victuals that were consumed locally on the spot.

The Jayhānī tradition wrote down the different types of taxes among the forest dwellers. The most widespread form of the tribute was a certain number of furs per household, which is corroborated by the data of the *Russian Primary Chronicle*. Next to this was the taxation of the trade routes, which yielded enormous revenues: the duty of a tenth on the trade, which is attested in the sources in connection with the Volga Bulgars and the Khazars. As for other types of tribute, Ibn Rusta reported in the Slavic chapter: “Every year their king levies (a tax) upon them.<sup>1144</sup> If one of their men has a daughter, he takes a suit of clothing from her clothes at a (given) time in the year. If he has a son, he takes a suit of clothing from his clothes at another time in the year. If a man does not have either a son or daughter, he takes a suit of clothing from the clothes of his wife or concubine.”<sup>1145</sup> Ibn Faḍlān described the complex system of revenues of the Volga Bulgar ruler: “Most of what they eat is millet and horsemeat, although wheat and barley are plentiful. Everyone who grows something takes it for himself, the king having no claim to it. However, they render him every year a sable skin from each household. When the king orders a raiding party to make a foray against a country and booty is taken, he along with them is due a share. It is incumbent on anyone who holds a wedding feast, or invites a guest to a banquet, that the king receive a portion commensurate with the size of the feast, as well as a bowl (*sākhrahk*) of honey drink and some bad wheat. It is bad because their soil is black and putrid. They have no places for the storage of their food. Consequently, they dig wells in the ground and put the food in them. After a few days it begins to turn, becomes malodorous, and cannot be made use of.”<sup>1146</sup> The account highlights two important elements: the storage and transport of foodstuffs presented insoluble problems, and a tax

1141 DAI, 63; Belke, Soustal 1995, 85–86.

1142 Moravcsik 1950, 63.

1143 Moravcsik, Jenkins 1962, 61; Belke, Soustal 1995, 86, note 80; Sorlin 2000, 352, note 55.

1144 Manuscript: “he comes to them.” Kmietowicz interpreted this phrase as a reference to the tribute, called *polud'e* (Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 80, note 137).

1145 BGA VII, 145; Wiet 1955, 163; Martinez 1982, 166, note 63; Kmoskó I/1, 211; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 80.

1146 Frye 2005, 54; Togan 1939, a 27, 60–61; Kovalevskiy 1956, 136; Canard 1958, 62; Lewicki 1985, 56–57, 104.



was imposed upon the occasion of weddings or banquets and not according to the size of cultivated fields, as was the case in agricultural societies.

## 15 The Religion of the Magyars

Ibn Rusta: The Magyars are fire worshippers.

Gardīzī: The Magyars are fire worshippers.

Al-Bakrī: The Magyars are idolaters.

Abū'l-Fidā': They are fire-worshippers.

The term *'abda al-nīrān* (عبدة النيران) is translated as 'fire worshippers.' Al-Bakrī recorded it as *'abdat awthān* (عبدة اوثان) 'idol worshippers,' which is a misinterpretation due to copyist error. It is corroborated by Abū'l-Fidā', who may have used the correct manuscript of al-Bakrī's work as he preserved the original text.

Lewicki and Nyitrai have suggested a new interpretation: they regarded the plural form *nīrān* not from the singular of *nār* 'fire' but from the word *nūr* 'light'. Beside the interpretation 'light, heavenly body,' Lewicki put forward another possible emendation, *'abdat al-nayyirāt*, where the second element is translated as 'seven planets.'<sup>1147</sup> Nyitrai preferred the translation 'light' and he added the interpretations 'bright star, sun and moon.'<sup>1148</sup> The term 'sun and moon' can be translated in two ways in Arabic: the dual form of the word *nūr*, i.e. *nūrān*, and the dual form of the word *nayyir* 'shiny, bright', i.e. *nayyirān*. However, while the latter is written in the same form as *nūrān* (نيران), nevertheless the expression *'abdat al-nūrān* is a genitive construction whose second member is in the genitive case, and thus in the dual it should be read *nayyirayn* (نيرين), so the interpretation 'sun and moon' is not possible. The emendation 'worshippers of the stars' in the sense of 'lights' cannot be excluded; but Gardīzī recorded the Persian expression *ātish-parast* 'fire-worshipper,'<sup>1149</sup> which corroborates the traditional concept.

Al-Bakrī collected data on the Magyars from an Andalusian source which can be dated to the 10th century after the Conquest of the Carpathian Basin but prior to the conversion to Christianity: "They are a sort of people who worship only God (Allah), may He be exalted! They believe in the Lord of the Sky, he is alone the Almighty. They avoid eating pork and present offerings (to God). If

<sup>1147</sup> Lewicki 1977, 103–104.

<sup>1148</sup> Nyitrai 1996, 72.

<sup>1149</sup> Steingass 1977, 13.

one of them acquires some food, he lights a fire and takes the best part of his bread and food and throws it into the fire, calling on his most beloved patron, because they believe firmly that the smoke ascends to the sky and it is stored away for the dead in front of God, to Him belongs glory and power, in order to gain the grace of God.”<sup>1150</sup> The Magyars are described as the followers of the pagan of Tengri-cult, and the text points to an aspect of the existence of a fire cult among them.

The medieval Muslim authors had a special interest in the religious life of the peoples of Eastern Europe. Ibn Rusta wrote of the religion of the Slavs: “When one of them dies, they cremate him ... They are all fire-worshippers.”<sup>1151</sup> However, the word is *thīrān* ‘bulls’ in the manuscript, which was emended by de Goeje to *nīrān*. Gardīzī used the same text version as he wrote: “They are bull-worshippers (*gāw-parast*).”<sup>1152</sup> In contrast, the *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam* preserved the basic tradition: “All of them are fire-worshippers (*ātish-para-stand*).”<sup>1153</sup> Al-Marwazī did the same: “they burn their dead, for they are fire-worshippers.”<sup>1154</sup> The same expression was used both for the Magyars and the Slavs. Cremation was the typical Slavic burial rite connected with the fire cult. It is recorded also by al-Mas‘ūdī<sup>1155</sup> among the Danube Bulgars.<sup>1156</sup>

The Muslim authors recorded the importance of the fire cult in connection with the nomads creating vast empires. Gardīzī wrote about the Kirgiz: “The Kirgiz people, however, burn [their] dead like the Hindus, saying that fire is the purest of things and that whatever falls into it is purified, [so that] it cleanses the corpse of pollution and sin. Among the Kirgiz some oxen, some the wind, some the hedgehog, some the magpie, some the falcon and [some] others [yet], stately and handsome trees.”<sup>1157</sup> Then, the description of a shaman ceremony is included in the text. Tamīm ibn Baḥr, in the first half of 9th

1150 Leeuwen, Ferre 1992, 490; Zimonyi 2004, 26–27; Kmoskó 1/2, 258; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 232–233.

1151 BGA VII, 144; Wiet 1955, 161, 162; Kmoskó 1/1, 210; Lewicki 1977, 36, 37; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 77.

1152 Ḥabībī 1963, 276; Martínez 1982, 164; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 179.

1153 Sotoodeh 1962, 188; Minorsky 1937, 158; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 211.

1154 Minorsky 1942, a 22, 35; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 252.

1155 *Murūj* II, 9; II<sup>2</sup>, 213; Minorsky 1958, 146; Rotter 1978, 87; Kmoskó 1/2, 171.

1156 “The Burjān are magicians ... If someone dies from the people of Burjān, so they go to his surviving slaves and servants, gather them and give them instructions, and burn them with the dead man saying: ‘We incinerate you in this world so that you will burn not in the other world!’” Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 236–237; Kmoskó 1/2, 227.

1157 Ḥabībī 1963, 263; Martínez 1982, 128; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 125–127. Parallels, cf. Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 126, note 152; 196–197, 247.

century, recorded of about the Uygurs: “and among them are fire-worshippers (*‘abdat al-nūrān ‘alā madhhabi-l-majūs*) professing the Magian religion and Manichaeans (*zindīq*).”<sup>1158</sup> Minorsky noticed that the burning of the dead was a symbol for worshiping fire in the eyes of the Muslim authors.<sup>1159</sup> The Chinese sources described the burning of the dead in the Türk Khaganate.<sup>1160</sup> The Chinese sources of the 6th century mentioned of the inhabitants of the land Hua west of the Jou-Jan that they worship the God of Sky, the God of Fire. They sacrifice every day to the Gods when they exit the door, then they eat.<sup>1161</sup>

Ibrāhīm ibn Waṣīf mentioned the role of fire among the Khazars: “Sorcery and fortune-telling are spread among them. They are rancorous and brave. The king has a certain day when a large fire is lit. He stands there and looks into the fire and talks with murmuring voice. Then a large flame burns up. If it turns green, so rain and fertility is to be expected; when its colour is white, the result is drought. If it is red, bloodshed comes. If it turns yellow, threatening disease and epidemic are probable. If it blackens it is the sign of the death of the king and of a long trip. If this is the case, he hastens his journey and his return.”<sup>1162</sup> The description refers to a shaman journey.

Fire had important functions in the life of the nomads and the peoples living in the forest zone. Roux defined three characteristics of fire among the Altaic-speaking peoples: First, it has a purifying force, which is well-known worldwide. This includes the cremation, which has been already quoted in connection with the Kirgiz, but is attested also among the Turks and the Mongols. Another example is the custom whereby ambassadors from foreign countries had to pass between two fires to cleanse them of their evil thoughts.<sup>1163</sup> Second, the family hearth in the middle of the yurt symbolized prosperity and the survival of the family. The youngest son was charged with its supervision and he inherited the father’s home. Third, the fire and the smoke rising from it connected the earth with the sky and secured a harmony between the two elements, i.e. the world order.<sup>1164</sup>

The Jayhānī tradition did not mention the role of fire in the description of the religions among Eastern European peoples. As for the Khazars, it is known that the followers of world-religions lived in the capital of the Khagans, but the

1158 Minorsky 1948, 279, 283.

1159 Minorsky 1948, 296, note 3.

1160 Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 9–10; Ecsedy 1988, 16–33.

1161 Csongor 1993, 68.

1162 Kmoskó 1/2, 227; Göckenjan Zimonyi 2001, 239–240.

1163 МЕН 77; Györfly 1986, 101–102; Dobrovits 2011a, 388.

1164 Roux 1984, 104–105, 224–226, 322–324.

majority of population did not belong to them, as Ibn Rusta recorded: "Their supreme ruler is a Jew, and likewise the Isha and those of the generals and the chief men who follow his way of thinking. The rest of them have a religion like the religion of the Turks."<sup>1165</sup> Gardīzī gave a very precise definition of the Turks, as he wrote *Oguz Turks*. The Balkhī tradition contains a similar account about the Khazars: "The Khazars are Muslims, Christians and Jews, and among them are a number of idolaters. The smallest group is the Jews, most of them being Muslims and Christians, though the king and his court are Jews. The predominating manners are those of the heathen. One man shows respect for another by prostrating himself before him."<sup>1166</sup> The majority population of Khazaria did not belong to one of the great religions, and the Muslim authors considered them idolaters and compared their customs and rites with those of the *Oguz*. The *Burtas* were characterized by a similar formulation: "Their religion is similar to the *Ghuzziyya* (*Oguz*)."<sup>1167</sup>

The *Volga Bulgars* were converted to Islam officially in 922, but the old religion survived,<sup>1168</sup> as Ibn Rusta reported: "Most of them have adopted the faith of Islam and there are mosques and schools and muezzins and imams in their settlements. The infidel among them prostrates himself before anyone whom he meets from among his friends."<sup>1169</sup> The prostration before another person was a typically pagan custom, as we have seen in the text of the Balkhī-tradition in connection with the Khazars. It is corroborated by Ibn Faḍlān, who

1165 BGA VII, 139; Dunlop 1954, 104; Kmoskó 1/1, 204; Lewicki 1977, 28, 29, 60, note 71; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 52–53. Gardīzī: "Their senior leader and the *Ishā* are Jews. Likewise Jew[ish] is whoever is attached to him from among the military chiefs and [other] important men. The rest [of the nation] follow a religion which resembles the religion of the *Oguz Turks*." Ḥabībī 1963, 272; Martinez 1982, 153; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 166.

1166 BGA I, 220; Dunlop 1954, 92; Kmoskó 1/2, 28; BGA II<sup>2</sup>, 390; Kramers, Wiet 1964, 380; Kmoskó 1/2 75. In addition, once again we find mention of idolaters: "The slaves found among the Khazars are idolaters. These permit the sale of their children and enslavement of one another. As to the Jews and Christians among them, their religion condemns the enslavement of one another, like the Muslims." BGA I, 223; Dunlop 1954, 96; Kmoskó 1/2, 30; BGA II<sup>2</sup>, 394; Kramers, Wiet 1964, 385; Kmoskó 1/2 78.

1167 Ibn Rusta BGA VII, 140; Wiet 1955, 158; Kmoskó 1/1, 205; Lewicki 1977, 30, 31, 72, note 95; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 56; cf. Gardīzī: Ḥabībī 1963, 273; Martinez 1982, 156; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 169. Al-Bakrī: Leeuwen, Ferre 1992, 448; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 227.

1168 Even with the *Alans*, we find a similar phenomenon: "The *Allān* king is a Christian at heart, but all the people of his kingdom are heathens worshipping idols." (Ibn Rusta: BGA VII, 148; Minorsky 1958, 169; Kmoskó 1/1, 215; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 92.)

1169 Ibn Rusta: BGA VII, 141; Zimonyi 1990, 137–138; Kmoskó 1/1, 206; Lewicki 1977, 32, 33, 89, note 126; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 60–61.

mentioned it among the Oguz: “When we had given him (one of the Oguz chiefs) this (the gifts) there, he made obeisance. That is their custom; when one man honors another, he makes obeisance before him.”<sup>1170</sup> The prostration among the Khazars and the Volga Bulgars and the Oguz parallel with the reference to the Oguz by the Khazars and Burtas may demonstrate a common religious system.

Ibn Faḍlān gave further data on this point among the Oguz, stating: “When one of them has been dealt with unjustly, or something happens to him which he cannot endure, he looks up to the sky and says *bir tengri*, that is in Turkish, ‘By the one God,’ because *bir* means one in Turkish and *tengri* is in the speech of the Turks God.”<sup>1171</sup> The Tengri cult is well-known in the great nomadic empires, it was a typical religious phenomenon among nomadic polities built on traditional shamanism. The existence of the Tengri-cult among the Oguz and among the Magyars as recorded by al-Bakrī cited above suggests that it was simultaneously present among the Khazars and Volga Bulgars.

The Jayhānī tradition did not connect the Magyar fire-worship with the cremation of the dead, as it was described among the Slavs. The account may have been recorded by Muslim merchants, who stressed the Magyars’ heathenism by referring to fire worship. In 924, however, two Magyar soldiers were burned during a Magyar foray, but this is not considered a typical form of the Magyar burial rite and there is no trace of cremation in the archaeological material in the Carpathian Basin.<sup>1172</sup>

The reconstruction of the religious beliefs of the Magyars before conversion to Christianity may be based on some written sources, the testimony of archaeology, language history, and ethnology. Vilmos Voigt and Éva Pócs gave a summary of the results of ethnology in 1997, while István Fodor published an overview of the archaeological material from this point of view.<sup>1173</sup>

## 16 Magyar-Byzantine Trade

Ibn Rusta:

- a. They raid the Ṣaḡāliba, and they take the captives along the sea-coast till they reach a harbour of Rūm, which is called K.rkh.

1170 Togan 1939, a 13, 26; Frye 2005, 37.

1171 Togan 1939, a 10, 20; Frye 2005, 34; Kovalevskiy 1956, 125–126; Canard 1958, 38; Lewicki 1985, 35, 92, 139, note 138.

1172 HKÍF, 249; Fodor 2003, 338–339.

1173 Voigt 1997, 301–308; Pócs 1997, 309–322; Fodor 2003, 327–351.

- b. When the Magyars take the captives to K.r.kh, the Rūm (Byzantines) go out to them, and they trade there. They buy Byzantine (*rūmī*) brocade, woollen carpets and other Byzantine goods for the slaves.

As we have shown, Ibn Rusta's text contains important additions in comparison with the parallel passages of the other authors, who only mentioned that the Magyars bring their captives to Rūm and sell them there. The term *Rūm* in the Arab geographical literature is the name of the Byzantine Empire.<sup>1174</sup> The Magyars presumably had direct contact with the Byzantines on the Crimean Peninsula. This is confirmed by the account of the Byzantine missionary, Constantine/Cyril, who met Magyars on his way to the Khazar Khagan near the town of Kherson in 860/861: "And when the Philosopher said the prayer of the first hour, the Ugrians attacked him, howling like wolves, wanting to kill him. But he was not afraid, nor did he interrupt his prayer but only said Kyrie eleison, because he finished his devotions. And they, seeing [him], were tamed through divine order, and began to bow to him, and having listened to the teaching words from his mouth, they released [him] with all who accompanied him."<sup>1175</sup>

The Magyars may have used the same route to the Crimea, as later the Pechenegs did who were recorded by Constantine Porphyrogenitus: "This same Gulf of Maeotis comes opposite to, and within about four miles of, the Nekropy-la that are near the Dnieper river, and joins them where the ancients dug a ditch and carried the sea through, enclosing within all the land of Cherson and of the Regions and the land of Bosphorus, which cover up to 1000 miles, or even rather more. In the course of many years this same ditch has silted up and become a great forest, and there are in it but two roads along which the Pechenegs pass through to Cherson and Bosphorus and the Regions."<sup>1176</sup> The geographical position of the Crimean peninsula provided an excellent opportunity for contact between the Eastern European nomads and the Greco-Roman and later Byzantine world. The peninsula can be reached on land from the north through the narrow pass of Perekop. The northern part is a plain, and a mountain range in the south runs parallel with the sea. The shore was for the Greeks an ideal place to built cities and fortresses, the most significant of which were Kherson and Bosphorus (Kerch). In the 9th century, Kherson was the center of Byzantine trade and diplomatic relations, which is reflected in the foundation of the Thema of Kherson about 840.<sup>1177</sup>

1174 Nadia El Cheikh, Rūm first in the Arabic literature: *EI*<sup>2</sup> VIII, 601–602.

1175 Kristó 1996, 133; HKÍF, 160.

1176 *DAI*, 186, 187; Belke, Soustal 1995, 202.

1177 Szádeczky-Kardoss S., Kherson: *KMTL* 350; Obolensky 1971, 28–32, 175–176. I have used

*Karkh*

There have been several attempts to identify the place *K.rkh* كرخ.<sup>1178</sup> The sources gave some hints to locate the settlement, namely that the Magyars reached it along the coast, and the Arabic term *marqā* مرقى meaning 'port'<sup>1179</sup> also points to a settlement on the coast. Accordingly, it can be identified with a port at the mouths of rivers flowing into the Black Sea from the Danube as far as the Crimean peninsula, or with sheltered bays and harbors in the Crimea. Gyula Németh identified it first with *Gerrh(os)* at the mouth of the Dnieper, which was mentioned by Herodotus and Stephanus Byzantinus, then he preferred the identification of the settlement with Kerch in the eastern part of the Crimea.<sup>1180</sup> This name might have been a variant of the old form of *Karkina* preserved in the name of the Bay of Karkina at the mouth of the Dnieper, and *Samkarsh*, which lay on Taman peninsula and was later called Tmutorokan, was also considered as a possible location.<sup>1181</sup> The latter cannot be accepted, as the Magyars would have crossed the Kerch Strait or would have gone around the Sea of Azov if they had reached the settlement.<sup>1182</sup> *Kerch* (Bosphorus) is on the Crimean Peninsula, and the Arabic term *K.rkh* can be simply emended to *Karj* ~ *Karč* (كج ~ كج). However, the form *Kerč* appeared only in the 10th century<sup>1183</sup> and the city was perhaps under the control of the Khazar kings in the 9th century.<sup>1184</sup>

The identification with Kherson is generally based on historical rather than on philological arguments, because it was the seat of the strategos of Crimean

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the PhD dissertation of Szabolcs Polgár dedicated to the trade of Eastern Europe in the 8th–10th centuries.

1178 Polgár 2000, 198–201; 2004, 15–21.

1179 Dozy I, 550–551.

1180 Németh 1991<sup>2</sup>, 220.

1181 Marquart 1903, 162–164.

1182 Polgár 2000, 200; 2004, 18.

1183 There was a Greek colony *Pantikapaion* in ancient times which later formed the center of the Bosphoran Kingdom under the name Bosphorus. It was from the end of the 7th century the residence of the Khazar Tudun. The territory west of Khersonesos remained in Byzantine hands. The versions in the Muslim sources are by Abū'l-Fidā': *al-Kars*, Rukn al-Dīn Baybars: *Karj*. In the old Russian sources it occurs in 1068 in the form *Korchev*. In 1016, after Kievan Rus' and the Byzantines had destroyed the power of the Khazars, Kerch joined the Rus to the Principality of Tmutarakan. After the arrival of the Kipchaks, Kerch came under Byzantine rule (C.E. Bosworth, Kerč: EI<sup>2</sup> IV, 891–892; Marquart 1903, 506–507; Lewicki 1977, 105–106, note 176).

1184 Polgár 2000, 202; 2004, 19.

Thema and an important trading center.<sup>1185</sup> It can be corroborated from the philological side, as Gyula Németh noticed that the word *K.rkh* can be interpreted as an Arabic noun which was attached to the names of Baghdad and Sāmarrā.<sup>1186</sup> *Karkh* is an Aramaic loan word in Arabic whose meaning is ‘city’. The district *Karkh* Baghdad described as the western part of Baghdad and was located below the round city. The settlement called *Karkh* existed before the founding of Baghdad in 762, and Christian Syrians might have lived in it. After 762 it became the center of trade. The other settlement by that name was *Karkh* Sāmarrā, north of Baghdad. It was founded as a new center of the Caliphate in 862 and was not a commercial center but a military settlement.<sup>1187</sup> Theophylactus Simocattes mentioned *Carcharoman* ‘Roman fort’ and *Charcha* ‘oppidum,’ which reflect the Syrian form of the same word.<sup>1188</sup> The interpretation as city referring to Cherson seems to be preferable in connection with the term *K.rkh* by Ibn Rusta.<sup>1189</sup>

### *Slave Trade*

The slave trade was an important factor in the history of medieval Eastern Europe. Besides furs, honey, and wax, slaves offered the most profitable business, and fairly accurate information is available about the size and the process of the slave trade in the Crimea in the 13th–15th centuries that can be taken as an analogy.<sup>1190</sup> The most important market for the slave trade in the 9th–10th centuries was the Muslim world. Slaves came in large numbers from the Eurasian steppe to form the guard and later the army of the caliph. The other source of the slave trade was the forest zone of Eastern Europe: Rus’ merchants brought slaves on the Volga to sell to the Muslim tradesmen of the Volga Bulgars and the Khazar capital. The taxation of this trade afforded high revenues for the Khazar and Volga Bulgar rulers. There was another route to Muslim Hispania from Eastern Europe which supplied the western half of the Muslim world with slaves.<sup>1191</sup> The Magyars took an active role in the latter during the 10th century, which was reported by Ibrāhīm ibn Ya‘qūb who visited Prague in the 960s.<sup>1192</sup>

1185 Polgár 2000, 199; 2004, 19–21; Bóna 2000, 12–13.

1186 Németh 1930, 157.

1187 M. Streck, J. Lassner, *al-Karkh*: EI<sup>2</sup> IV, 652–653.

1188 Whitby 1986, 39, 133; Olajos 2012, 93, note 191, 188, note 844.

1189 Polgár 2000, 200–201; 2004, 21.

1190 Tardy 1980, 59–121; 1983.

1191 Lombard 1991, 198–199; Cahen 1989, 140–141.

1192 Mishin 1996, 186, note 16; Kmoskó 1/2, 242; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 231–232.



The other market of the slave trade was the Byzantine Empire. The extent of the Byzantine slave-trade cannot be precisely defined in the 9th–10th centuries due to the lack of information.<sup>1193</sup> Szádeczky-Kardoss assumed in his book on the sources of the history of the Avars that the nomads sold Slavic-speaking slaves to Byzantine merchants in the early Middle Ages.<sup>1194</sup> According to the Jayhānī tradition, the Magyars controlled and even took part in the slave trade with Byzantium, which may have been the source of their wealth mentioned in paragraph 20.

### *Byzantine Merchandise*

The Magyars bought Byzantine merchandise after selling the slaves. Ibn Rusta recorded two goods: *dībāj rūmī* ‘Byzantine brocade’ and *zillīyya*, which is translated either as ‘wool rug’ or ‘blanket’.<sup>1195</sup> Byzantine brocade is often mentioned as a commercial product in the Muslim geographical literature: al-Hamadhānī and Ibn Khurdādhbih enumerated the goods of the Jewish merchants who crossed Eastern Europe from the West to the East, including brocade.<sup>1196</sup> The latter author claimed about the Byzantines: “They have marvelous *bizyūn* (Byssos) and Byzantine brocade (*dībāj rūmī*).”<sup>1197</sup> In the Balkhī tradition we learn of trade between Armenia and Byzantium, which also includes mention of brocade: “The (Muslim) merchants gather there (in *Ṭarābzunda*, Trebizond) to penetrate into the realm of *Rūm* for trading. Everything from the brocade (*dībāj*), *bizyūn*, and Roman dresses come to these regions via *Ṭarābzunda*.”<sup>1198</sup> Al-Mas‘ūdī, describing the dresses of the Circassian women of the Caucasus, referred to the Byzantine brocades: “They dress themselves in white, in *dībāj rūmī* (Byzantine brocades), scarlet cloth and various brocades (*dībāj*) shot with gold.”<sup>1199</sup> Ibn Faḍlān reported about Byzantine brocade in 922 among the Volga Bulgars: “After an hour had elapsed, he sent for us and we went

1193 A.J. Cappel, *Slavery*: ODB III, 1915–1916.

1194 Szádeczky-Kardoss 1998, 21.

1195 Cf. the details for wool carpet and rug: MEH, 89; Lewicki 1977, 107, note 183; Kmoskó I/1, 209; Wiet 1955, 161. The word *zullīyya* is a Persian loanword in Arabic, which has the following meaning: ‘Carpet, Woollen blanket’ (Lane III, 1242; Hava 1970, 293); Steingass gives the following meaning: ‘woollen blanket without hair and stripes’ (1984, 462).

1196 BGA VI, 153; Kmoskó I/1, 121; Lewicki 1956, 74, 75, 121–122, note 126; BGA V, 270; Kmoskó I/1, 140; Lewicki 1969, 28, 29.

1197 BGA V, 148; Lewicki, 1969, 24, 25.

1198 BGA I, 188; Kmoskó I/2, 22; cf. BGA II<sup>2</sup>, 344; Kramers, Wiet 1964, 337; Kmoskó I/2, 68.

1199 *Murūj* II, 45–46; II<sup>2</sup>, 230; Minorsky 1958, 158; Rotter 1978, 99; Kmoskó I/2, 180; Pellat 1962, I, 174.

before him, as he was in his tent with the rulers on his right side. He then bid us be seated on his left-hand side. We found his sons sitting in front of him, while he sat alone upon a throne covered with Greek brocade (*dībāj rūmī*).<sup>1200</sup> Byzantine brocade was used during the funeral of a wealthy Rūs; his deathbed and pillows were covered with it, and a caftan and a hat were prepared from brocade.<sup>1201</sup> Byzantine brocade was a precious merchandise in every region of Eastern Europe.<sup>1202</sup>

As an analogy, the Pechenegs can be taken into consideration, as Constantine Porphyrogenitus reported twice on the trade between the Byzantines and Pechenegs in Kherson. The inhabitants of Kherson trade with the Pechenegs or ask military service from them and they receive: “pieces of purple clothes, ribbons, loosely-woven clothes, gold brocade, pepper, scarlet or Parthian leather.”<sup>1203</sup> The Pechenegs sell the merchants of Kherson hides and wax.<sup>1204</sup> This list might demonstrate what Ibn Rusta meant by Byzantine goods. Györfly analyzed the vocabulary of the *Codex Cumanicus* and discovered a complete list of precious goods. This can be connected with the Italian merchants who lived in the Crimea, for the Cuman vocabulary was compiled for them.<sup>1205</sup>

Gardīzī wrote about Magyar clothes that they are made of brocade in paragraph 19, and then in paragraph 23 that the dowry contains various things covered by brocade. Al-Mas‘ūdī also referred to brocade when describing the Magyar-Pecheneg attack against Byzantium in 934; when the Magyars reached the Wall of Constantinople: “They stayed there for about forty days and they sold the captive women and children in exchange for clothes and garments made of brocade and silk.”<sup>1206</sup> As Ibn Rusta recorded, the Magyars were active in trade with Byzantium, selling slaves and buying Byzantine brocades, rugs or carpets, and other Byzantine textile products of high quality.

1200 Togan 1939, a 20–21, 41–42; Frye 2005, 45; Kovalevskiy 1956, 132, 330; Canard 1958, 52–53; Lewicki 1985, 48, 99.

1201 Togan 1939, 90–93; Frye 2005, 67–68.

1202 Byzantine textiles: Laiou, Morisson 2007, 78–80.

1203 DAI, 52–53; Belke, Soustal 1995, 75. Interpretation of the Greek words: Jenkins 1962, 14–15; Belke, Soustal 1995, 75, note 28.

1204 DAI, 286, 287; Belke, Soustal 1995, 281.

1205 Györfly 1990, 250–251.

1206 *Murūj* II, 64; II<sup>2</sup>, 238; Rotter 1978, 105; Kmoskó 1/2, 185; Pellat 1962, I, 179. cf. Marquart 1903, 63.

## 17 Khazar-Magyar Relations

Ibn Rusta: It is said that the Khazars entrenched themselves some time ago against the Magyars and other peoples bordering their country.

### *Sarkel*

This sentence is of crucial importance in Hungarian historiography, since it provides the fundamental argument for a Magyar polity independent of the Khazar Empire before the conquest of the Carpathian Basin. Pauler and shortly afterwards Marquart connected this account with the construction of the fortress Sarkel, which is described in detail in the Byzantine sources.<sup>1207</sup> According to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the Byzantines built the castle called Sarkel on the banks of the Don at the request of the Khazar Khagan around 839.<sup>1208</sup> The same account was recorded by Byzantine authors from the 11th century, with the addition that the fortress in this section of the bank of the Don was appropriate to repel the attacks of the Pechenegs living west of the Don.<sup>1209</sup> The latter note was historically correct in the 10th century and served as the basis for projecting the state of affairs back to the 9th century on the analogy of the Khazar-Magyar relations; however, the political setting was completely different at that time.

Kmoskó called attention to another parallel passage,<sup>1210</sup> namely that in which al-Mas'ūdī gave data about the post when the Rūs sailed up the Don and then reached the Volga and thence the Caspian Sea in 913: "(Some time) after 300 A.H. (912/13AD) some 500 ships, each carrying 100 men, arrived at the Straits of the Bunṭus (Pontus) joint with the Khazar River (Volga *nahr al-Khazar*) and here there are men of the Khazar king, strong and well supplied with equipment. (Their task is) to oppose anyone coming from this sea or from that side of the land, the parts of which stretch from the Khazar River (*nahr al-Khazar*) down to Sea of Bunṭus. This in view of the fact that the nomad Oguz-Turks (*Ghuzz*) come to winter in this tract of land. Sometimes the branch which joins the Khazar River (Volga, *nahr al-Khazar*) to the Gulf of the Pontus (*Bunṭus*) becomes frozen and the Oguz with their horses cross it. This is a large stream (Don) but (the ice) does not collapse under them because it is as hard as stone. Consequently the Oguz pass over to the Khazar country, and on several occasions, when the men posted here to repel the Oguz, were unable to hold

1207 Pauler 1900, 14; Marquart 1903, 27–28.

1208 DAI, 182–185; Belke, Soustal 1995, 199–201.

1209 Polgár 2001a, 107.

1210 Kmoskó 1/1, 209, note 834.

them at this place, the Khazar king had to sally forth to prevent them from passing over the ice and to repel them from his territory. In summer, however, the Turks cannot pass. When the ships of the Rūs reached the Khazar troops posted at the entrance to the straits (Kerch?), they sent an envoy to the king of the Khazars (asking permission) to pass through his country, sail down his river, enter the river (canal?) of the Khazar (capital) and so reach the Khazar Sea (Caspian Sea)<sup>1211</sup> Kmoskó obviously referred to the danger of raids when the Volga and the Don freeze in winter, for such an event enabled the Oguz to attack the lower Volga-Don region from the east, but it was valid also concerning an attack coming from the west, and even Rūs ships on the rivers may have represented serious danger in case of hostile intent. Unfortunately, it is hard to decide whether the Khazar soldiers had been stationed in a castle or in fortified places on the basis of the report of al-Mas'ūdī.

Károly Czeglédy, following the concept of Marquart, accepted that Sarkel was built against the Magyars, and he pointed out that this account does not refer to the 870s but rather represented an older chronological layer, i.e. it refers to events that had taken place at least thirty years earlier, in the 830s.<sup>1212</sup> This was widely accepted in Hungarian historiography<sup>1213</sup> and the chronological framework of Hungarian history was built upon the thesis that the Magyar tribal confederation lived west of the Don at the end of 830s, because Sarkel was built against them. Polgár, reviewing the historical, commercial and archaeological data about the construction of Sarkel, studied the assumptions that the castle was built as a protection against the Magyars, Pechenegs, or Rūs, and he came to the conclusion that Sarkel was built to control and defend the flourishing trade along the Don in the 9th century and only became a western border fortification of the Khazars in the 10th century.<sup>1214</sup> According to the latest results of archaeology, there are three Sarkels: 1. the castle of Cimlyansk on the left bank of the Don built from bricks; its form is a regular rectangle with towers at the corners and on the sides, in late Roman (Byzantine) style. It can be identified with the Sarkel of the Byzantine sources among the castles on the Don. 2. The castle of Cimlyansk on the right bank of the Don, whose original name is not known; it was built from lime-stone blocks. It is 6 kilometers from the former castle. It was built on a triangle-shaped hill and was one of

1211 *Murūj* II, 18–21; II<sup>2</sup>, 218–219; Rotter 1978, 91–92; Kmoskó I/2, 174–175; Minorsky 1958, 150–151; Pellat 1962, I, 165–166. Cf. Marquart 1903, 330–331.

1212 Czeglédy MŰT, 42, 119.

1213 Cf. the latest works: Fodor 1992, 102–103; Kristó 1996b, 132; Györfy: MEH, 10; Tóth 1998, 35–36; cf. Polgár 2001a, 112.

1214 Polgár 2001a, 106–122.

the best-designed and built castles in the Don-Donets region. 3. The third castle is called Khamyshevskoe gorodishche on the right bank of the Cimlyansk reservoir, approximately 1–1.5 kilometers northwest of the other castle on the right bank. It has been known only since 1991. Minor excavations took place in its territory. It was built of limestone in the time of the Khazar Khaganate. The two castles on the right bank may have formed a double-defense system or they may belong to distinct chronological layers.<sup>1215</sup>

Kmoskó indicated that the passage is burdened with serious problems: It is absent in Gardīzī and al-Bakrī and the sentence interrupts the context, and it is therefore an interpolation of uncertain origin that was inserted there by mistake. He also pointed out that the Arabic *yuqālu* ‘it is said’ is generally used to introduce a section when the Muslim author intended to cite a different passage from another author. Even these features prove that it is an interpolation.<sup>1216</sup> We can add to this by analyzing the text of Ibn Rusta in the comments to the findings in paragraph 14 that the account belongs to the fourth, i.e. latest layer of the text-tradition. Interpretation of Khazar-Magyar relations cannot be based solely on this later insertion of obscure origin in the work of Ibn Rusta.

### *Trench*

The Arabic verb *khandaqa* (خندق) means ‘to dig a fosse or moat (around it)’.<sup>1217</sup> Czeglédy translated the term into Hungarian as ‘rampart itself’ (Hungarian: *körülsáncolták*), while Kmoskó interpreted as ‘entrench’ (Hungarian: *elsáncolták*).<sup>1218</sup> Marquart translated it as “*mit einem Graben umgeben hatten*” while Wiet preferred the word *fossé* ‘ditch’.<sup>1219</sup> The Russian translation of Zahoder and the Polish of Lewicki preferred the expressions ‘to dig a ditch around it’.<sup>1220</sup> The rampart is a fortification built mainly from earth, which could be connected with a ditch, but in the present case the interpretation as a ditch appears to be more suitable.

1215 Pletneva 1996; 2000, 84–100, 105–113; Flyorov 2011, 28–50; Flyorov, V. S: Kamyshhevskoe gorodishche. Istoriko-arheologicheskaya spravka, issledovaniya, bibliografiya. www.sarkel.ru/istoriya/kamyshhevskoe\_gorodiwe\_florov\_vs/ Semyonov, A. I: Tretiy Sarkel? www.sarkel.ru/istoriya/tretij\_sarkel\_semenov\_ai/ Larenok, P.A.—Semyonov. A.I.: Sarkel, Sarkel, i eshchy Sarkel www.sarkel.ru/istoriya/sarkel\_sarkel\_ewe\_savrkel/.

1216 Kmoskó 1/1, 209, note 834.

1217 Lane II, 815.

1218 Czeglédy: MEH, 88; Kmoskó 1/1, 209.

1219 Marquart 1903, 28; Wiet 1955, 160.

1220 Zahoder 1967, 56; Lewicki 1977, 35.

Muslim authors must have associated the word *khandaqa* with the well-known events of the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, namely from the well-known ditch-expedition. Muḥammad was attacked in 627 in Medina by the Meccans with about 7–10,000 footsoldiers and 600 horsemen. Muḥammad had only three thousand men and twelve horsemen, and to protect the northern flat side of Medina they dug a trench on the advice of a Persian Muslim, while the other parts of the town were easily defensible due to lava flows. The attackers could not cross the ditch and the weather got colder, so the Meccans retreated without success.<sup>1221</sup>

The term *khandaq* is used in various meanings in the geographical literature. The defense system of the Danube Bulgars was described by Ibrāhīm ibn Waṣīf: “The whole district of Burjān is surrounded by a palisade. Furthermore, there are lattices of a wooden window in it. (The palisade) is like a wall with a trench (*khandaq*). The villages are to be found on this side of the palisade.”<sup>1222</sup> The defense system along the border of the Danube Bulgar Empire extended several hundred kilometers, according to the Byzantine authors and the archaeological excavations.<sup>1223</sup> In addition, the expression *khandaq* is also known for the designation of trenches which surrounded the various Muslim cities, such as Samarqand.<sup>1224</sup> Another possibility for using the moat is in connection with the fortification of military camps. However, the Emperor Mauricius mentioned in his military manual concerning the nomadic peoples: “They do not encamp with entrenchments, as do the Persians and the Romans.”<sup>1225</sup> The nomadic use of fortresses in Eastern Europe was studied by Polgár in detail.<sup>1226</sup>

According to Macartney, Ibn Rusta may have linked the word *khandaq* with the Ditch of Perekop, which protected the Crimean Peninsula from the north.<sup>1227</sup> The text of Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus was quoted in the previous chapter; the ditch was dug in antiquity and by the 10th century had silted up.<sup>1228</sup> Herodotus also mentioned a trench in the Crimea in his famous Scythian passage, as it was built against those Scythians who returned from Persia: “First they barred the way to their country by digging a wide trench

1221 W. Montgomery Watt, *Khandaq*: EI<sup>2</sup> IV, 1020.

1222 Kmoskó 1/2, 226; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 235.

1223 Beševliev 1981, 474–479.

1224 BGA 11<sup>2</sup>, 493, 504, 509; Kramers, Wiet 1964, 473, 482, 486; Kmoskó 1/2, 49, 83, 86.

1225 Dennis 1984, 116–117; Szádeczky-Kardoss 1998, 83.

1226 Polgár 1998, 45–53.

1227 Polgár 2001a, 113.

1228 DAI, 186, 187; Belke, Soustal 1995, 202.

from the Tauric Mountains to the broadest part of the Maeetian Lake."<sup>1229</sup> It is probably the *Akmolinayskiy val*, which ran north to south in Eastern Crimea to defend it against an attack from the Kerch Strait.<sup>1230</sup>

The passage of Ibn Rusta about Magyar-Khazar relations is hard to evaluate. If it can be connected with some events of the 9th century, either the building of Sarkel in 839 on the banks of the Don, the conversion of the Khazar Khagan to Judaism in the 860s, or the Khazar civil war, the Kabar revolt and their combining with the Magyar tribal confederation may be considered. Taking the interpolation into account, it might be valid for the first half of the 10th century, but another difficulty arises as the Pechenegs conquered the territory of the Magyars north of the Black Sea in 895 and direct Magyar contact with the Khazars ceased to exist. On another view it might refer to those Magyars who remained east of the Volga, but they could not have represented a serious threat to the Khazar Khaganate. It is not clear from this passage whether the Khazars had constructed a trench to defend their core territories against the Magyars and others, or they defended their fortresses and towns with ditches. This passage, either in itself or linked with the building of Sarkel, is not enough to suppose an independent persistent Magyar nomadic polity before 895.

### *Khazar-Magyar Relations*

It is worthwhile reconsidering the issue of the concept of Khazar-Magyar relations in Hungarian historiography. There are basically two major conceptions: 1. The Magyar tribal confederation was formed in the 7th century as a part of the Khazar Khaganate, and the Magyar tribal federation began to gain independence in two steps, in the 830s when the Khazars asked the Byzantine to built Sarkel against them, and in the 870s, when al-Jayhānī described them as an independent people; 2. The other fundamental point of view assumes that the Magyars moved from the Volga-Kama region directly to the northern shore of the Black Sea in the western vicinity of the Khazars in the 830s and the two parties were hostile to each other, as the Khazars needed Byzantine help to construct a fortress against them. The Magyar tribal league then stayed under Khazar sovereignty between 840 and 860. The Magyars succeeded in regaining their independence in the 870s once again, as shown in the account of al-Jayhānī.<sup>1231</sup> The common characteristic of both concepts is the delineation

1229 Herodotus II, 201.

1230 Herodotus, Commentary 575.

1231 Cf. Tóth 2000, 637–654; Petruhin 2002, 78–81; Fodor 2002a, 98–101.

of the process by which the Magyars became a tribal confederation independent of the Khazar Khaganate before the Conquest in 895.

The formation and development of these concepts have been determined by five major issues in Hungarian historiography: 1. The conversion of the Khazar court to Judaism and the development of historical studies influenced by anti-semitism in the different phases of the 20th century. 2. The classification of the Khazar language as a Turkic language. 3. Constantine Porphyrogenitus discussed the Khazar-Magyar relations in detail in his 38th, 39th and 40th chapters. 4. The role of the Khazar Khaganate in the history of Eastern Europe deserves special attention in this respect. 5. The stability of the Khazar Khaganate made possible the process of ethnogenesis of the Magyar people. Finally, the interpretation of the Jayhānī tradition is of fundamental importance: Ibn Rusta's relevant passage was connected with the building of Sarkel in the 830s as a sign of hostility between the Magyars and Khazars, and then in the 870s the main arguments for the independence of the Magyar people are the lack of data on their dependence (*argumentum ex silentio*) and the fact that the sacral double kingship was copied from the Khazar pattern, including the institution of the sovereign ruler.

The fate of the Jewish community in Hungary, their integration and the attitude of majority toward anti-semitism officially had no effect on the historical interpretation of the role of the Khazar Khaganate in Magyar ethnogenesis; nonetheless, its indirect and sometimes unconscious influence can be perceived up to present day. The Khazar Khagan with the court converted to Judaism in the 9th century. The impetus can be reconstructed without difficulty: The neighboring great powers were the Byzantine Empire and the Caliphate of Baghdad, and Khazar conversion to Christianity or Islam would have meant a formal subjugation of the sovereign Khazar Khagan to the emperor or the caliph, and either religion would have had a significant impact on them culturally. The conversion to Judaism was facilitated by the Jewish merchant communities in the Khazar Khaganate who played a prominent role in east-west trade. The measure of the spread of the Jewish faith is debated, but it seems certain that the Khagan and his retinue converted to Judaism.<sup>1232</sup> The study of Judaism among the Khazars has nothing to do with conflicts and tragedies of the 20th century in Europe and in Hungary more particularly, but the historian must be aware of an indirect influence on the study of Khazar history.

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1232 Recent literature summary with references to earlier studies: Golden 1992, 241–242; Brook 1999, 113–156; Vásáry 2003, 140–143.



The historical and geographical framework of the formation of Magyar tribal confederation can be reconstructed on the basis of the history of Eastern Europe in the 5th–8th centuries and the consequences of the study of Old Turkic loanwords in the Hungarian language.

The Turkic loanwords in the Hungarian language can be divided into three layers: Ottoman; Cuman; and Pre-Conquest Turkic, which was called Bulgar-Turkic by Gombocz. The Turkic languages are divided into Chuvash or Bulgar-Turkic and the common Turkic languages. Ottoman Turkic belonged to the Oguz branch and the Cuman to the Kipchak branch, both of which are common Turkic.

The study of Turkic loanwords in Hungarian started with pioneering works of the second half of the 19th century, and its founder was Ármin Vámbéry. The first synthesis of the field was the monograph of Zoltán Gombocz.<sup>1233</sup> The next phase was represented by Gyula Németh, whose study focused on the Turkic tribal and personal names and titles.<sup>1234</sup> The historical–etymological dictionary of the Hungarian language was published between 1967 and 1984 in four volumes in Hungarian, and the Turkic loanwords were written by Zsuzsanna Kakuk and supervised by Lajos Ligeti.<sup>1235</sup> Its revised German edition, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Ungarischen*, appeared in three volumes between 1992 and 1995.<sup>1236</sup> The consultant for the pre-Ottoman Turkic loanwords was András Róna-Tas. Lajos Ligeti published a monograph entitled *Turkic Connections of the Hungarian Language prior to the Conquest and in the Age of the Árpád Dynasty* in Hungarian in 1986. Ligeti's book is not an etymological dictionary; it concentrates on linguistic problems of Hungarian-Turkic contacts and their cultural and historical implications.<sup>1237</sup> The latest complete synthesis is the work of András Róna-Tas and Árpád Berta and the team at the Department of Altaistics, which contains 419 items of the old Turkic loanwords in Hungarian.<sup>1238</sup>

The eldest layer of the Turkic loanwords in Hungarian were regarded as Bulgar-Turkic, as one third of the words can be characterized as showing the special criteria of the Bulgar-Turkic or Chuvash-type Turkic; for the rest, the term Old Turkic is used, meaning Turkic in general without any distinguishing

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1233 Gombocz 1912.

1234 Németh 1930; second revised edition by Á. Berta: 1991.

1235 Benkő 1967, 1970, 1976, 1984.

1236 Benkő 1993, 1995, 1997.

1237 Ligeti 1986.

1238 Róna-Tas, Berta 2011.

criteria. If a Turkic loanword in Hungarian meets a Common Turkic criterion, it has been categorized to the middle layer, i.e. a Pecheneg, Cuman loanword.<sup>1239</sup>

The term Bulgar-Turkic derived from Ashmarin and was taken over by Gombocz. The Chuvash language is the descendant of Volga Bulgar. As Volga Bulgar is regarded as the dominant language of the Volga Bulgars and as they migrated to the Volga region from Magna Bulgaria, north of the Black Sea, similarly to the Danubian Bulgars who moved to the Balkans, Gombocz worked out a historical fiction: all people under the denomination *Bulgar* spoke Bulgar-Turkic. As for the Danube Bulgars, there is not a single text, and only 20 words from inscriptions, loanwords, and names and words from the late List of Bulgar Princes. Ligeti expressed his doubts about the determination of the Danube Bulgar language. Volga Bulgar has been reconstructed from the inscriptions of the Volga region from the 13th–14th centuries. There is no contemporary text from the time of Volga Bulgar empire, which flourished from the 10th century until the Mongol invasion in 1236, and the language of the Bulgars in Eastern Europe between the 5th–7th centuries is not known. The crucial point of the Bulgar Turkic theory is a misleading concept: an ethnonym cannot determine the language of the people it designates.<sup>1240</sup> Gyula Németh extended this construction to those Turkic peoples whose names contained the term *Ogur*, such as *Ogur*, *Saragur*, *Onogur*, *Kutrigur*, and *Utigur*, since its Common Turkic cognate is *Oguz*.<sup>1241</sup> Based on the *r~z* opposition, Peter Golden used the term *Oguric* in place of Bulgar-Turkic. It has the same difficulty that the languages of these tribes and tribal confederation are unknown.

Gombocz developed his first concept of Hungarian prehistory accordingly: the Bulgar-Turkic loanwords in Hungarian were copied from the Volga Bulgars between 600 and 800. The first date corresponded to the arrival of the Volga Bulgars at the Volga-Kama region, whereas the second is the time of the southern migration of the Magyars. Later, Gombocz changed his view due to Zichy's biogeographical method and he put the place of the contact on the territory

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1239 Ligeti performed some statistical calculations: The historical–etymological dictionary of the Hungarian language (TESz) contains 42 loanwords from Chuvash-type Turkic and 191 from Old Turkic. I have made similar calculations concerning Ligeti's monograph and 'West Old Turkic' using the criteria of Ligeti. Ligeti has 87 words with Chuvash characters and 199 Old Turkic; Ligeti 1986, 35–36. Róna-Tas and Berta have 116 Chuvash-type and 268 Old Turkic loans. Gyula Németh enumerated 34 loans from the middle layers (Németh 1921, 22–26), while Róna-Tas and Berta mentioned 35 Cuman loanwords in Hungarian.

1240 Németh 1930, 39–40; Ligeti 1986, 9–12; Golden 1992, 95–97; Róna-Tas 1999, 112–114.

1241 Németh 1922, 148–155.

of the Cuban river between 463 and 600. The Magyars moved to the Cuban region with the Onogurs, Ogurs, and Saragurs in 463 from the Volga region and the northern wandering of the Volga Bulgars around 600 was the end of the contacts. Németh accepted Gombocz's second opinion first, but returned to Gombocz's previous theory later.<sup>1242</sup> The doctrine was built on the definition of the language of the Khazars. Gombocz identified the Khazar language on the basis of the *Khazar* ethnonym and the city name *Sarigš'in* as Common Turkic. Németh accepted this and brought forth new arguments. It implies that the Magyar tribal confederation would have avoided or minimizes contacts with the Khazars.

In the 1980s Peter Golden collected the glosses of the Khazar language and concluded that Khazar was Common Turkic.<sup>1243</sup> Marcel Erdal was also inclined to define the language of the Khazars as Common Turkic.<sup>1244</sup> András Róna-Tas proved that the ethnonym Khazar cannot be derived from the non-existent ghost-word Common Turkic \**qaz*- 'to wander,' but its original Turkic form is *Qasar*.<sup>1245</sup> Ligeti re-examined the Khazar glosses and Hungarian titles borrowed from Khazar, plus the testimony of a runic script authentication and he concluded that the Khazar language was Chuvash-type Turkic. András Róna-Tas corroborated this with new arguments.

The relevance of the debate is clear: if the Khazars spoke Common-Turkic, Magyars ought to have avoided the territory of the Khazars, i.e. the region circumscribes the Caucasus, Volga and Don, and Bulgar-Turkic could have had contacts with Hungarian in the Volga-Kama region and in the vicinity of the Black Sea. Németh's second theory, i.e. the Magyars moved to the Black Sea region from the Volga-Kama territory in the first half of the 9th century, has been widely accepted among the historians and archaeologists. In reality, the earlier conception of the linguistic-historical framework of the Magyar migration lost its validity, and thus the geographical setting of the formation of the Magyars between the 5th and 8th centuries needs new argumentation. It can be concluded that the formation of the Magyars took place in the steppe and forest steppe region of Eastern Europe.

Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *De administrando imperio* is the other basic source for Magyar history before the Conquest. It includes a relatively detailed report on the Magyar-Khazar relations, based mainly on Magyar oral tradition. The 38th chapter of the *De Administrando Imperio* contains relevant data:

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1242 Czeglédy MÓT, 156–163 analyzed the development of the theory in detail.

1243 Golden 1980.

1244 Erdal 2007, 75–108.

1245 Róna-Tas, Berta 2011, 6.

“The nation of the Turks had of old their dwelling next to Chazaria, in the place which was called Lebedia after the name of its first voivode ... They lived together with the Chazars for three years and fought in alliance with the Chazars in all their wars. Because of their courage and alliance, the chagan-prince of Chazaria gave in marriage to the first voivode of the Turks, called Lebedias, a noble Chazar lady, because of the fame of his valour and the illustriousness of his race, so that she might have children by him; but, as it fell out, this Lebedias had no children by this same Chazar lady ... (Then the Kangar-Sabartoi i.e. the first Pecheneg-Magyar war is described) ... A short while afterwards, the then-chagan-prince of Chazaria sent a message to the Turks, requiring that Lebedias, their first voivode, should be sent to him. Lebedias, therefore, came to the chagan of Chazaria and asked the reason why he had sent for him to come to him. The Chagan said to him: ‘We have invited you upon this account, in order that, since you are noble and wise and valorous and the first among the Turks, we may appoint you prince of your nation, and you may be obedient to our word and command.’ But he, in reply, made answer to the chagan: ‘Your regard and purpose for me I highly esteem and express to you suitable thanks, but since I am not strong enough for this rule, I cannot obey you; on the other hand, however, there is a voivode other than me, called Almoutzes (Álmos), and he has a son called Arpad; let one of these, rather, either that Almoutzes or his son Arpad, be made prince, and be obedient to your word.’ That chagan was pleased at this saying, and gave some of his to go with him to the Turks, and after they had talked the matter with the Turks, the Turks preferred that Arpad should be prince rather than Almoutzes his father, for he was of superior parts and greatly admired for wisdom and counsel and valour, and capable of this rule; and so they made him prince according to the custom and ‘zakanon,’ of the Chazars, by lifting him upon a shield. Before this Arpad the Turks had never at any time had any other prince, and so even to this day the prince of ‘Turkey’ is from his family.”<sup>1246</sup> In 1980 Kristó analyzed the whole chapter sentence by sentence in his book.<sup>1247</sup> Afterwards Várady, Harmatta, Kapitánffy, and Terézia Olajos reviewed the study of the Magyar chapters of Constantine Porphyrogenitus.<sup>1248</sup>

The first part of the passage reflects the Magyar tribal federation serving as auxiliary troops in the Khazar wars whose leader receive a noble Khazar lady

1246 DAI, 170–173; 1984, 42–45; Belke, Soustal 1995, 187–191.

1247 Kristó 1980, 32–150; the major results were reviewed in his later work in English: Kristó 1996, 97–203.

1248 Várady 1989, 22–58; Harmatta 1996, 105–111; Kapitánffy 2003, 139–144; Teréz Olajos: HKÍF, 121–126.

for his faithful service. This kind of status is well-attested in the runic inscription of the second Türk Khaganate, and even the terms seem to be parallel.<sup>1249</sup> The Jayhānī tradition wrote of the Burtas that they are under the obedience of the Khazar ruler and ten thousand warriors go out from them, reflecting a similar position.<sup>1250</sup> The position of the Magyar tribal confederation changed after the so-called Kangar-Sabartoi, i.e. first Magyar-Pecheneg war, as reflected in the story of the election of Arpad as a new Magyar prince. It seems evident from the passage that there was a change of dynasty in the tribal confederation that was not the decision of an independent people, but rather the appointment of Arpad by the Khazar Khagan after his agents discussed the nomination with the Magyar tribal council. Arpad was made a prince according to the law of the Khazars.<sup>1251</sup> The eastern background of the lifting upon a shield we have studied recently in detail.<sup>1252</sup> As the use of the title *khagan* is not detectable among the rulers of the Magyars, it is hardly imaginable that the Magyar prince was a sovereign king, but rather the title *Künde* recorded in the Jayhānī tradition stood at the third position in the Khazar state hierarchy. The political status of the Magyar tribal union increased significantly and the Magyar prince, the third prince in the Khazar Khaganate, may have had a strong influence on the policy of the court. Nevertheless, the Magyar informants of the Byzantine source derived the legitimacy of the Arpad dynasty from the appointment by the Khazar Khagan even in the middle of the 10th century.

The historical role of the Khazar Khaganate in Eastern Europe can facilitate the understanding of Khazar-Magyar relations. The Khazar Khaganate was the first great power whose center lay north of the Caucasus and then on the Lower Volga. The first data on the Khazars derived from the middle of the 6th century, when they were the subjects of the Western Türk Empire. The Avars conquered the territory north of the Black Sea shortly after 600, but the region of the North Caucasus remained in the hand of the Türks. In 626 the Türks reached the gate of the Chinese capital while the Persians and Avars undertook a siege of Constantinople. Byzantine diplomacy became active to avert the danger. Heraclius made an alliance with the Western Türks and their subjects, the Khazars, crossed the Caucasus in 628 and attacked the Persians. The Avars could not take Constantinople. One consequence was the formation of Kuvrat's empire north of the Black Sea. In 630 the Eastern Türks were defeated by the

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1249 Zimonyi 1997, 459–471.

1250 Martínez 1982, 155; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 55, 168, 251; Kmoskó 1/1, 205.

1251 Zimonyi 1997, 467–468, 470.

1252 Balogh, 2002, 37–46; 2005, 7–22.

Chinese and they submitted, while internal crisis weakened the Western Türks. The Khazars took the opportunity to found a sovereign empire north of the Caucasus. In the 630s a new power was born in Arabia. Muslim armies attacked Byzantium and Persia and conquered Persia, Syria and Egypt. Muslim troops reached the Caucasus and first crossed it in 652. The attacking Arab army suffered a serious failure against the Khazars, who were able to consolidate their position just before. The next three decades can be characterized as a period of peaceful coexistence, since both sides had other interests. In 659 the Western Turks also submitted to the Chinese. The victory over the Arabs and the fall of the Western Türk Empire prompted further Khazar conquests. They were powerful enough to attack their western neighbour, Kuvrat's empire. This successful campaign took place in the 670s. Most of the inhabitants submitted to the Khazar Khagan, and other tribes migrated to the West. The Khazars extended their power to the territory north of the Black Sea.

The Arab-Khazar conflicts restarted at the end of the 7th century. Until 722 the campaigns concentrated on the two passes of the Caucasus (Derbent, Darial), but in 722 the Muslims attacked and took the Khazar capital Balanjar and the Khazar ruler had to move his residence to Ätil on the lower Volga. The Khazars launched a large army against the Caliphate in 730, crossing the Darial Pass and defeating the Muslim governor of Armenia before reaching Azarbayjan. The Khazars threatened the central part of the Caliphate, so the Arabs reinforced their army and forced the Khazars to retreat behind the Caucasus. The greatest effort of the Caliphate was made in 737. The Muslim troops under Marwān crossed both passes of the Caucasus and reached the capital on the Volga. The Khazar ruler marched to the north but the Muslim army followed him, and after the final defeat the Khazar king was forced to embrace Islam. As the Arabs did not build military colonies in Khazar territory, Islam did not spread among the Khazars and the Khazar rulers' conversion was short-lived, as they adopted Judaism later. The Khazars defended Eastern Europe against the conquest of the Caliphate and the spread of Islam in the 7th–8th centuries.

The Abbasids formed a new policy to promote commerce, which encouraged prosperous trade between the Caliphate and the Khazar Empire in the 9th century. Muslim merchants from the central region of the Caliphate traveled through the Caucasus to the lower Volga to obtain commercial goods. The Khazar capital had a great Muslim colony with mosques, imams, mu'ezzins, and schools. Thus, the Khazar Khaganate became a trading center between the Caliphate and the forest zone of Eastern Europe. In the 9th century, the Khazar Khagan subjugated the peoples living in the steppe-forest and southern part of the forest zone, i.e. the Turkic-, Finno-Ugric- and Slavic-speaking tribes of

the later Volga Bulgar state, the Burtas, Vyatichians, Radimichians, Severians, and Polyanians, in order to secure the most precious goods (slaves, furs, wax, honey). The Khazar conquest prompted the formation of larger political units in the forest belt. Another consequence was the penetration of Northmen or Vikings into northeastern Europe, which had the same effects on the communities of the forests.

The Khazars were on good terms with the other neighbouring great power, Byzantium. They were allies of Heraclius against the Persians in 628. The expansion of the Caliphate made the coalition stronger. Besides military cooperation, political ties were sealed by dynastical marriages. In the 9th century the alliance endured. In 839 Byzantine craftsmen built a new fortress on the Don, called Sarkel, for the Khazars. In 861 Constantine travelled to the Khazar court and converted some Khazars to Christianity. The cooperation was injured by the clash of interests in the Crimea and religious conflicts between Jews and Christians.

The Pechenegs conquered the territory north of the Black Sea at the end of the 9th century, which brought fundamental changes in the Khazar Empire. The Khazars could defend their central territories north of the Caucasus, but they could not prevent the Pechenegs from penetrating into the territory west of the Don where the Magyar tribal confederation lived. They had to wander to the Carpathian Basin in 895, and upon their conversion to Christianity in 1000 the Carpathian Basin became a part of Latin Europe. The Hungarian kingdom received Pecheneg, Uz, and Kipchak/Cuman groups into the service of the Hungarian king, whereby they were assimilated. When the Khazar Khaganate lost its control over the territory west of the Don, the consequences were disastrous. Khazar rule over the Slavic-speaking tribes of the forest zones north of the Pontic steppes could not be maintained. The Rus', taking advantage of the situation, conquered Kiev, the Khazar center, and laid the foundation for Kievan Rus.

The importance of commercial routes between Europe and the Caliphate also changed. The most significant trade route became that starting from Transoxania and Khwārazm under Samanid rule, crossing the Kazak steppe, and reaching the Volga-Kama region. The inhabitants of that territory, i.e. the Volga Bulgars under Khazar supremacy, embraced Islam officially in 922, a hostile act against the Jewish Khazar ruler. At the turn of the 9th–10th centuries the Khazar Empire was in a deep crisis, losing the territories west of the Don, and in addition their trade monopoly was challenged by the Volga Bulgars. In the 10th century the Khazars were able to maintain their power north of the Caucasus. Khazar-Byzantine and Khazar-Muslim relations were cool. Rus' merchants and pirates were able to make an alliance with the Khazar ruler and used the

Don-Volga waterway against the Muslim provinces of the Caspian in 912 and in 944. The Muslim retinue of the Khazar king had a serious influence in the Khazar court, and the Kaghan prohibited the Rus from using the Don-Volga waterway in the middle of the 10th century. The prince of Kievan Rus, Svyatoslav, finally destroyed the Khazar Khaganate in 965, when its capital was taken.

The Khazar Khaganate was a successor state of the Western Türk Empire that existed for nearly three and a half centuries (628–965), an unexpectedly long time for a nomadic state-formation. The Khazars prevented the Arabs from penetrating into Eastern Europe by force. There were no serious western migrations in the steppe except the Pecheneg move. Khazar rule promoted the integration of tribes or tribal confederacies within the Slavic and Finno-Ugric-speaking groups of the forest-zone. The Khazars also played the role of mediator in commerce between the Caliphate and Northern Europe. It is beyond doubt that the Khazar Khaganate was the great power defining the fate of Eastern Europe from 680 to 895.<sup>1253</sup>

The stability secured by the Khazar Khaganate must have been a crucial factor in the formation of the Magyar tribal confederation. The Hungarian mediaevalist Jenő Szűcs worked out a new concept of the process of Hungarian ethnogenesis. Accordingly, there are three inseparable conditions for the formation of a larger community, tribal alliance, or people in the early Middle Ages: a permanent political framework, ethnic homogenization, and social factors. The long existence of a tribal alliance enables the origin myth of the dominant group to spread to the whole community, and in parallel with it a new culture would be formed from the various traditions characteristic of only that one people, and language, the means of conveying ethnic homogenization, becomes part of the process of unification as well, whereupon the whole community comes to understand a single language. In addition, despite the strong central power, the majority of the people consist of persons with free status in the community, with a myth of common origin and shared legal customs creating a sense of 'We-consciousness' that organically combines loyalty to the duke with ethnic identity and free status. In the case of the Magyars, Szűcs suggested that the permanent political framework was provided by the Khazar Khaganate, while the origin myth was the myth of Hunor and Magor recorded by Simonis de Kéza. Szűcs assumed that the formation of the Magyar

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1253 On the history of the Khazars, numerous excellent summaries are available. Archaeological point of view: Artamonov 2002; Pletnjowa 1978; historical studies: Dunlop 1954; Ludwig 1982; Brook 1999; Golden, Ben-Shammai, Róna-Tas 2007; recent review of archaeological materials: Türk 2011.



people was a longer process, and its period accessible for historical analysis falls between the 5th and 9th centuries.<sup>1254</sup> The first great wave of migrations in the Eurasian steppe took place in the 4th–6th centuries (Huns, Onogurs, Ogurs, Saragurs, Sabirs, Avars, Türks). It can be regarded as the start of the process of the development of an ethnic consciousness of the Magyar tribes. From the 7th century, the Khazar Khaganate granted the stability of a permanent frame of political unity that made possible ethnic homogenization.

In summary, it can be concluded that the Khazar Khaganate granted the Magyar tribal confederation at least two centuries under a relatively stable political framework that worked towards ethnic unification. The Magyar tribal confederation, once it consolidated its position, possessed significant military power. During the 9th century the political significance of the leader of the Magyar tribal confederation grew so much that he attained the third title in the Khazar royal hierarchy. The Magyar tribal confederation played a predominant role in the western half of the Khazar Khaganate, controlling the territory of the Eastern Slavic-speaking tribes and the commerce along the Dnieper, and its princes could decisively influence the politics of the Khazar court. The Magyars' ties with the Khazars lost their significance after the conquest of the Carpathian Basin in 895.

## 18 The Appearance of the Magyars

Gardizī: The Magyars are handsome and pleasant looking, their bodies are bulky.

*Ḥudūd al-‘ālam*: The (people) are good-looking and awe-inspiring.

Al-Marwazī: The Magyars are handsome and very comely, their bodies are bulky.

There are several parallel descriptions of the physical character and appearances of various peoples in the Jayhānī tradition. The Burtas had a similar character to Ibn Rusta, and al-Marwazī noted: “They are handsome and comely and have a [fine] physique.”<sup>1255</sup> The two nouns *ruwā’* and *manzar* (رواء منظر) in the description of al-Marwazī in the Magyar chapter are the same as those applied to the Burtas by Ibn Rusta and al-Marwazī. Gardizī’s parallel passage contains

1254 Szűcs 1992; for a short review of Szűcs’ concept cf. Zimonyi 1994a, 1–8.

1255 Minorsky 1942, a 21, 33; BGA VII, 140; Wiet 1955, 158; Kmoskó 1/1, 205; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 56.

more data: “These Burdās people are all tough (or fierce, *jald*) and manly ... They are all handsome (*nigū rūy*) and white-skinned.”<sup>1256</sup> Ibn Rusta recorded the physical characteristics of the Rūs: “Their bodies are bulky and they are comely (*juthath wa-manẓar*) and bold.”<sup>1257</sup> The first and second terms correspond to the description of the Magyars by al-Marwazī. Ibn Faḍlān described the Rūs with the following words: “They are as tall as date palms, blond and ruddy.”<sup>1258</sup>

The Balkhī tradition gave some details on the external appearance of the Khazars: “The Khazars do not resemble the Turks: they are black-haired, and are of two kinds, one called the Qarākhazar [Black Khazars], who are swarthy verging on deep black, as if they were a kind of Indians, and a white kind, who are strikingly handsome.”<sup>1259</sup> Al-Mas‘ūdī emphasized the pleasant physical properties of the Circassians in his chapter on the Caucasus: “This is a cleanly people following the Magian (*majūs*) religion. Among the nations already mentioned in these parts, there is no nation of purer complexion, of fairer colouring, of more handsome men and more beautiful women, more stately, with narrower waists, with shapelier buttocks, more elegant and (in general) comelier than this nation.”<sup>1260</sup>

As for the Şaqlab people, Yāqūt cited three opinions: according to Ibn al-A‘rābī, they are white-skinned people and Abū ‘Amr knew them as red-skinned, while Abū Manşūr described them as red-skinned and red-haired.<sup>1261</sup> Gardīzī recorded a similar account in the chapter on the Kirgiz, which contains an origin myth in which their founder and forefather was called Saqlābī (the eponymous hero of the Slavs): “The features and traits of the Slavs (Saqlābiyān) are to be found among the Kirgiz [such as] reddishness of hair and whiteness of skin.”<sup>1262</sup> The general opinion of the Muslim authors equated good-looking with fair skin and light hair colour.

Gardīzī discussed the physical and psychological characteristics of the Turks in the introduction to the discussion of the Turkic-speaking peoples: “[Now, the Turks are characterized by a certain] sparseness of hair [in the beard] and

1256 Ḥabībī 1963, 273; Martínez 1982, 156; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 169.

1257 BGA VII, 146; Wiet 1955, 164; Kmoskó 1/1, 213; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 85.

1258 Frye 2005, 63; Togan 1939, 82.

1259 Al-Iṣṭakhri: BGA I, 223; Dunlop 1954, 96; Kmoskó 1/2, 30; Ibn Ḥawqal: BGA II<sup>2</sup>, 394; Kramers, Wiet 1964, 385; Kmoskó 1/2, 78.

1260 *Murūj* II, 45; II<sup>2</sup>, 230; Minorsky 1958, 157–158; Rotter 1978, 99, Kmoskó 1/2, 180; Pellat 1962, I, 174.

1261 Jacut III, 405; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 121, note 128.

1262 Ḥabībī 1963, 261; Martínez 1982, 126; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 120–121.

canine disposition. <The reason for this that> Japheth fell as a child and no medicine had any effect [on him] until a wise old woman told Japheth's mother to give him ant eggs and wolf's milk so that [these] might relieve him from his ailment. Accordingly his mother kept giving him [dosages] of both these things continuously for one month until he recovered from this disease. [However,] when he began to have a beard, he turned out to be scanty-bearded as did his descendents, and this scantiness of beard befell him on account of those ants' eggs, [while his] bad-temper [befell him] on account of the wolf's milk."<sup>1263</sup> Sparse hair in fact is a East Asian feature, which was supplemented by Yāqūt in the *ḥadīth* in connection with the name Turk quoted above: they have wide (hammered) face, small eyes and a flat nose.

Nonetheless, there is a tendency in the Muslim tradition to consider sparse hair and broad face as East Asian traits, while red or blond hair and white skin are Caucasian characteristics. In this regard, the Magyars seem to have possessed attributes closely related to the latter.

## 19 Clothes and Weapons

Gardīzī: Their clothes are brocade and their weapons are plated with silver and embedded with pearl.

The brocade must have been bought from Byzantium, as was discussed in paragraph 16. This precious textile could have been possessed by only the rich people, as Gardīzī described regarding the Uygurs: "The clothing of their kings is [made] of Chinese brocade or silk, that of the common folk silk and linen. Their garments are quilted, ample-sleeved and full-skirted. Their king's belt is [made up] of intertwined strings of pearls [and gems]."<sup>1264</sup> Ibn Faḍlān also mentioned a coat of brocade (*ṥawb dībāj*) among the gifts of the Muslim emissary for the Oguz commander.<sup>1265</sup>

There is perhaps an indirect reference to the clothes of the Magyars in the Balkhī tradition describing the fashions of the Khazars: "The dress of the Khazars and the surrounding nations is coats (*qurṥaq*) and tunics (*qabā*'). No clothing is [produced] in the country. It is brought to them from the districts of Jurjān, Ṥabaristān, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and the Greek empire ... Their

1263 Ḥabībī 1963, 256; Martínez 1982, 118; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 99.

1264 Ḥabībī 1963, 267–268; Martínez 1982, 135; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 145–146.

1265 Togan 1939, 29; Lewicki 1985, 42; Frye 2005, 40.

(the Rūs) dress is the short coat (*qurṭaq*). The dress of the Khazars, Bulgars, and Bajanāk is the full coat (*qurṭaq*).<sup>1266</sup> Ibn Faḍlān mentioned *qurṭaq* as garment among the Oguz, Bashkirs, and Rūs.<sup>1267</sup> According to Togan, the word *qurṭaq* ‘jerkin, thick shirt’<sup>1268</sup> is a Persian loanword meaning ‘a tunic, waistcoat, jacket; a long loose-skirted under-grown or shirt; a shirt’<sup>1269</sup> The other term, *qabā*, is an outer garment usually translated as coat.<sup>1270</sup> It was obviously worn over the *qurṭaq*. The Magyars must have dressed in similar clothes in the 9th century. Findings from the time of the Magyar Conquest might provide data for reconstructing the clothing. Ibolya M. Nepper reviewed the material and concluded: “Women wore a caftan or short jacket over the cloth or brocade shift that was lovingly adorned with metal ornaments ... Men also wore a caftan, but in contrast to women, they buttoned it on the right side,”<sup>1271</sup> which was completed from the perspective of ethnography by Alice Gáborján.<sup>1272</sup>

### *Weapons*

As for their weapons, Martinez emended the term *dur* ‘pearl’ in the text to *zar* ‘gold’ (زر ~ در) and accordingly translated the expression as: “their weapons are [made] of silver and are gold-plated.”<sup>1273</sup> Nyitrai interpreted the text in the same way: “their weapons are made of silver and are plated with gold.”<sup>1274</sup> Gold and silver inlay is typical among the weapons excavated in the Carpathian Basin from the time of the Magyar conquest.<sup>1275</sup>

Gardīzī offered a much more detailed description of the decorated weapons of the Pechenegs, which can be used as an analogy: “These Pechenegs are the possessors of [great] wealth ... They have many silver and gold vessels. They have many weapons. They have silver belts. They have flags and pennants which they raise up in battle, [as well as] bugles [made] from horns of oxen which they sound in battle.”<sup>1276</sup>

1266 Al-Iṣṭakhri: BGA I, 224, 226; Dunlop 1954, 96, 99; Kmoskó 1/2, 30, 32; Ibn Ḥawqal: BGA II<sup>2</sup>, 394, 397; Kramers, Wiet 1964, 385, 388; Kmoskó 1/2, 78, 80.

1267 Frye 2005, 32, 40 (jacket), 38, 41 (robe), 42, 68 (tunic); Togan 1939, 29, 35, 82, 92.

1268 Togan 1939, 16, note 23, 226–227; see Lewicki 1985, 134, note 113.

1269 Steingass 1977, 1021.

1270 Stillmann 2003, 63–65.

1271 M. Nepper 1996, 53–54.

1272 Gáborján 1997, 235–249.

1273 Martinez 1982, 162.

1274 Nyitrai 1996, 73.

1275 Révész 1996, 45–46.

1276 Ḥabībī 1963, 271; Martinez 1982, 152; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 165, al-Marwazī: “The

Archaeological excavations have corroborated Gardīzī; the typical weapon of the Magyars was the sabre, of which 140 have been unearthed, offering an insight into the jewelers' high level of professional knowledge.<sup>1277</sup>

## 20 Prosperity and Trade

*Hudūd al-‘ālam*: They are very rich people but base.

Al-Marwazī: They have wealth and visible property on account of their great commerce.

‘Awfi: Thanks to commerce they live always in prosperity.

The wealth of the Magyars consisted of luxury goods perceived by Muslim merchants or diplomats. The former paragraphs described the slave-trade and the textile products the Magyars bought from the Byzantines, their brocade dresses and decorated weapons. There was a flourishing trade in Eastern Europe connecting it with the Islamic world and Byzantium that is reflected in the sources and findings. According to the Muslim authors, the Khazars, Volga Bulgars, and Rūs owed their prosperity to trade.

Another aspect of trade must have taken in to consideration: as the Volga Bulgar ruler was in fact subjected to the Khazar Khagans, the Volga Bulgars had to pay tribute to the Khazar Khagan, namely a fur per household, but the Volga Bulgar ruler levied a tithe on the trade that ran through his territory that even merchants from Khazaria had to pay.<sup>1278</sup> Accordingly, the Khazar Khagan's court shared in the profits of trade with the Volga Bulgar elite to ensure their loyalty. The Khazar king may have followed the same policy with the Magyars when the Khazar Khagan gave them a free hand in the slave-trade with Byzantium, for the Magyars guaranteed control over the Slavic-speaking tribes (Polyan, Radimich, and Severyan), upon whom the Khazars levied the same tribute as the Volga Bulgars: a fur per household.

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Pechenegs are wealthy having ... household property, gold, silver, weapons, ensigns and lances." (Minorsky 1942, a 21, 33; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 250), al-Bakrī: "They are wealthy, having beasts, freely grazing livestock, household property from gold and silver, weapons. They have decorated belts, ensigns, and instead of drums bugles." (Leeuwen, Ferre in 1992, 445; Kmoskó 1/2, 252; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 222).

1277 Révész 1996, 45–46. In the exhibition catalogue of the remains of conquering Magyars many excellent photos of the decorated sabres can be found: Fodor 1996, 66–70, 80–81, 87, 96–97, 106–107, 114, 121, 293, 410–411.

1278 Zimonyi 1990, 142–144.

## 21 Raids against the Slavs

Gardizī: They continually go to plunder the Saqlābs.

Gardizī wrote this sentence twice before: First in paragraph 14, which is identical with that of Ibn Rusta, and again in paragraph 16, where it is parallel with al-Marwazī. The third mention is not due only to the negligence of the copyist, for the author returns to the theme of Magyar-Slavic relations, as the next paragraph proves.

## 22 The Distance between the Slavs and the Magyars

Gardizī: From the Magyars to the Saqlābs is a ten-day journey. In the nearest part of the Saqlābs is a town which is called Wāntīt.

Gardizī took this sentence from the Slav Chapter, because the same sentence can be found there if the Magyar ethnonym is changed for that of the Pechenegs. Ibn Rusta wrote in the Slav chapter: "From the land of al-Bajānākiyya to the land of Ṣaḡāliba is a ten-day journey. In the nearest part of the Ṣaḡāliba is a town which is called Wāntīt."<sup>1279</sup> The parallel accounts on the Slavs by Gardizī and al-Marwazī include only the first sentence in the same form.<sup>1280</sup> Gardizī put the name of the Magyars in place of Pechenegs and inserted the sentence at the end of the Magyar chapter. The name of the town is recorded in the Slav chapter of *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam*: "Wābnīt is the first town to the east of the Slavs."<sup>1281</sup> The form *Wāxix* (وايخ) is difficult to identify. It has been emended as the Slavic ethnonym Vyatich(ians) and also as a variant of an older name of Kiev.<sup>1282</sup>

Martinez argued that it is the first sentence of the Slav chapter by Gardizī,<sup>1283</sup> which is confirmed by the parallel passage of Ibn Rusta. In fact, Gardizī copied the first two sentences from the original Slav chapter, as reflected by Ibn Rusta and partly by al-Marwazī, and he changed the name Pechenegs to Magyars. Then Gardizī gave an account of the bride-price and afterwards started the Slav chapter of the basic text, which Ibn Rusta and al-Marwazī recorded.

1279 BGA VII, 143; Wiet 1955, 161; Kmoskó 1/1, 209; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 75.

1280 Martinez 1982, 163; Minorsky 1942, 22, 35; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 178, 252.

1281 Sotoodeh 1962, 187; Minorsky 1937, 159; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 211.

1282 Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 75–76, note 110; Mishin 2002, 58–59.

1283 Martinez 1982, 162.

## 23 Bride-Price

Gardizī: They have the custom in asking for a wife that when they ask for a wife they take a bride-price in accordance with her wealth consisting of more or less horses. And when they mount up to take the bride-price, the girl's father takes the groom's father to his house and whatever he has by way of sable, ermine, grey squirrel, weasel, and underbellies of fox he brings together with a needles and brocade to the amount of ten fur-coats. He wraps (these) in a bed roll and ties (it) on the groom's father's horse and he sends it off toward his home. Then, whatever is necessary by way of the girl's bride-price consisting of cattle and moveable chattels and household furnishings which have been deemed appropriate, is sent to him (the bride's father) and only then is the girl brought to the (groom's) house.

The term *kābīn* means dowry, but the description in fact fits the other well-known term *kālīn* 'bride price'.<sup>1284</sup>

Muslim visitors among the nomads of the Eurasian steppe showed special interest in their often-curious marriage and sexual customs due to their different cultural backgrounds, and sometimes their prejudices. Women in Muslim societies were kept in seclusion, could not participate in public life, and were allowed to appear in public only with restrictions. In contrast, women in nomadic society were regarded as partners in many segments of social life and could even play important roles in public affairs. Occasionally, they took part in battle and the wives of the rulers could issue charters.

The description is considered as a part of the Magyar chapter, but as mentioned in the preceding paragraph, Martinez included it as part of the Slav chapter. In any case, it seems to contradict what Gardizī recorded as their marriage customs in the basic text of the Slav chapter: "Fornication is not allowed among them. If a woman likes a man, she goes nigh unto him (i.e. has intercourse with him) and he, when he touches her, marries if she should [prove to] be a maiden, and if she should not be [a maiden] he sells her and says to her, 'If you had any decency within you, you would have kept yourself [a maiden]'. If a married woman commits adultery, they kill her, without accepting her entreaties."<sup>1285</sup> The two accounts deal with different aspect of marriage: the first is a detailed report about the bride-price, while the second is more about premarital sexuality. The Muslim authors were interested in both top-

1284 Doerfer, TMEN III, 399–400, 579; Clauson 1972, 585, 622.

1285 Ḥabībī 1963, 277; Martinez 1982, 166; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 180; Kmoskó 1/2, 248.

ics. Ibrāhīm ibn Ya‘qūb included a report about the country of the Polish king Miesko (960–992): “He has three thousand warriors wearing coats of mail; a hundred of them is worth a thousand of other warriors in battle. He gives those men clothes, horses, arms, and everything they need. If a child is born to one of them, he orders the child to be paid a maintenance, regardless of the latter’s sex. When the child grows, and he is a boy, he marries him and pays the dowry to the father of the bride. If the child is a girl, he marries her and pays the dowry to the father. The dowry of the Slavs is very big, and they pay it in the same way as the Berbers do. If a man, thus, has two or three daughters, he gets rich, but if he has two sons, he becomes poor.”<sup>1286</sup> This is a special case valid only for the nucleus of the royal army, the members of the heavily armored cavalry.

The Jayhānī tradition preserved a passage on a curious marriage custom of the Burtas. Ibn Rusta and al-Marwazī wrote: “Among them, when a girl reaches puberty she leaves the authority of her father and chooses whom she wants among the men, until finally a suitor comes for her to her father and the latter, if he wishes, gives her away [to the man].”<sup>1287</sup> Al-Bakrī copied a curious account about the Magyars from a diplomat or traveller who visited them in the second half of the 10th century “Their morals are satisfying except that they leave their women with their slaves and guests and those who want them [the women] to be alone. In this respect they take the rank of dogs.”<sup>1288</sup>

The marriage customs of the nomadic Oguz were collected by Ibn Faḍlān, saying: “Their women do not veil themselves in the presence of their own men nor of others, nor does any woman cover any of her bodily parts in the presence of any person. One day we stopped off with one of them and were seated there. The man’s wife was present. As we conversed, the woman uncovered her pudendum and scratched it, and we saw her doing it. Then we veiled our faces and said: ‘I beg God’s pardon.’ Her husband laughed and said to the interpreter: ‘Tell them she uncovers it in your presence so that you may see it and be abashed, but it is not to be attained. This, however, is better than when you cover it up and yet it is reachable.’ Adultery is unknown among them; ... Their marriage customs are as follows: one of them asks for the hand of a female of another’s family, whether his daughter or his sister or any one of those over

1286 Kowalski 1946, 4–5, 50, 90–92; Mishin 1996, 187–188; Geramb, Mackensen 1927, 14.

1287 Ibn Rusta: BGA VII, 141; Wiet 1955, 158; Kmoskó 1/1, 205; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 56; cf. the parallels: 169, 227, 251; Minorsky 1942, a 21, 33; Martinez 1982, 156. Ibn Rusta seems to refer to the girl in the closing part, meaning the marriage depends on her wish.

1288 Leeuwen, Ferre 1992, 490; Zimonyi 2004, 28; Kmoskó 1/2, 258; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 233–234.



whom he has power, against so and so many garments from Khwārazm. When he pays it he brings her home. The marriage price often consists of camels, pack animals, or other things; and no one can take a wife until he has fulfilled the obligation on which he has come to an understanding with those who have power over her in regard to him. If, however, he has met it, then he comes with any ado, enters the abode where she is, [and] takes her in the presence of her father, mother and brothers; these do not prevent him."<sup>1289</sup> Togan reviewed the marriage customs of the Turkic and Mongolian-speaking peoples in his commentary.<sup>1290</sup> Ibn Faḍlān also recorded some other peculiarities: naked bathing of the Volga Bulgar women and men in the rivers, in spite of which adultery was not common among them, and the public sexual life of the Rūs.<sup>1291</sup>

Gardīzī wrote about the Qori people who lived next to the Kirgiz: "When they have sexual intercourse, they make the woman prop herself up on all four limbs and then couple [with her]. The bride-price [they pay] for a women is wild animals, or else valleys in which there are many wild animals and trees."<sup>1292</sup> In addition, Gardīzī mentioned a dowry in the chapter on Uygurs: "When someone fornicates with a maiden he is struck three hundred blows and a mare and a silver robe [made] of fifty stater [weights] of silver are taken [from him]. If [it is] with a married woman [that] he commits adultery, both are brought to the king's court and the king orders that each be struck three hundred blows, and that the man be made to give the woman's husband a tent[frame] covered with a complete tent-cover made entirely of new felt. [Then] the adulterous woman is given [in marriage] to the adulterer, and the woman's [former] husband obliges the adulterous man to fetch a woman for him, the dowry for whom that man must [also] give. [All this is done] if the adulterer should be a rich man, but if he be poor man, he is merely struck the three hundred blows and then released."<sup>1293</sup> The bride price and dowry were mentioned in the Chinese sources in connection with the Turkic speaking Kao-chü.<sup>1294</sup>

It is difficult to decide whether the description narrated by Gardīzī can be linked with either the Magyars or the Slavs. The furs and animals listed in the bride price may refer to either nomadic or forest-dwelling communities.

1289 Togan 1939, a 11–12, 21–22; Frye 2005, 34–35; Kovalevskiy 1956, 126; Canard 1958, 38–40; Lewicki 1985, 35–36, 92–93.

1290 Togan 1939, 128–131; Mongol parallels cf. Gießauf 1995, 130, note 353.

1291 Togan 1939, 66, 85; Frye 2005, 56–57, 64–65.

1292 Ḥabībī 1963, 262; Martinez 1982, 127; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 125.

1293 Ḥabībī 1963, 267; Martinez 1982, 135; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 144–145.

1294 Csongor 1993, 71.

Sárkány collected the literature on the the marriage customs of the Magyars before the conquest from an ethnological perspective, taking account of the practices of the Turkic and Finno-Ugric-speaking peoples.<sup>1295</sup>

## 24 The Eastern Border of the Magyar Territory

Al-Bakrī: their other border, on the desert side, is a mountain inhabited by the people called Aīn. They possess horses, livestocks and sown fields. The people called Ughūna dwell under this mountain, on the sea-coast. They are Christian and adjacent to the Muslim territories bordering on the region of Tiflīs, this is the first border/beginning frontier of Armenia. This mountain continues down to the territory of al-Bāb wa-l-Abwāb, and reaches the Khazar country.

Abū'l-Fidā': their other border is adjacent to the desert.

Kuun first published al-Bakrī's account of the Magyars in Hungary, but he used the Hungarian translation of Vámbéry, the founder of Hungarian Turcology.<sup>1296</sup> Kmoskó identified this part of the passage as an insertion from the Khazar chapter of the Jayhānī tradition; perhaps al-Bakrī wanted to define the eastern border of the Magyar settlements in this way.<sup>1297</sup> Marquart relocated the eastern border of the Magyar realm to the river Kuban on the basis of this passage.<sup>1298</sup> According to Minorsky the data of al-Bakrī determine the eastern border of the Magyars as the border with the two Caucasian peoples, the Alans and the Abkhazians, who lived under the rule of the Khazar Khagans; however, the Magyars were independent because the Khazars defended themselves by a moat against the Magyars, as Ibn Rusta noted.<sup>1299</sup> Nevertheless, as Minorsky's argument was based on the ditch mentioned by Ibn Rusta, it is hardly defensible, as this passage was a later interpolation. Czeglédý noted that the conception of Marquart, i.e. the Kuban River as the eastern border of the Magyars, was accepted by Gyula Németh and was a dominant theory in Hungarian historiography until the 1970s. Czeglédý called attention to the interpolation and emphasized that this passage of al-Bakrī's is not a firm base for such a strong conclusion.<sup>1300</sup>

1295 Sárkány 1997, 33–46.

1296 МНХ, 195.

1297 Kmoskó 1929, 36, 1/1, 200–201, 203; 1/2, 256.

1298 Marquart 1903, 31, 164.

1299 Minorsky 1939, 458–459.

1300 Czeglédý MÓT, 43–44.

As for the original information, al-Bakrī and Gardīzī wrote in the Khazar chapter: “The country of the Khazars is a wide, open place. On one side of it there is a great mountain-[range], and that mountain-[range] stretches as far as Tiflis. [al-Bakrī: Tiflis is the first boundary of Armenia].”<sup>1301</sup> Al-Marwazī and Ibn Rusta preserved a more complete version that included the names of the two Caucasian peoples: “The territories of the Khazars are wide, reaching on one side to a great mountain-(range). At the furthest end of this mountain there dwell [al-Marwazī: two divisions of the Turks called the] Ṭūlās and Lūghar (Abkhaz). This mountain stretches away to the land of Tiflis.”<sup>1302</sup> The *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam* also recorded these two names in the Khazar chapter: “Ṭūlās, Lūghar (?), two regions of the Khazar (country). The people are warlike and have great numbers of arms.”<sup>1303</sup>

The insertion was copied no doubt from the Khazar chapter; it was not taken from the basic versions of the Jayhānī tradition represented by the shorter accounts of al-Bakrī and Gardīzī or the more complete accounts of al-Marwazī and Ibn Rusta, but rather from a third expanded and revised version. The motive behind the insertion may have been al-Bakrī’s intention to determine the eastern border of the Magyar territories in the same way as he identified their western limit with the land of Rūm, replacing the original Sea of Rūm. Al-Bakrī deliberately worked within and tried to define the geographical frames of his accounts, but his construction of the borders of the Magyar territories are unfortunately without real foundation.

## 25 Slavic Castles against the Magyars

Gardīzī: They (the Slavs) have the custom of building fortress[es]. Every small group [that] comes (i.e. settles down) together, also makes [for itself] a stronghold, for the Magyars are at all times making incursions (i.e. slave raids) against them and plundering them. [Thus], when the Magyars come the Saqlāb go into those fortresses which they have built. And for the most part where they stay in the winter is in [their] fortresses and strongholds, but in the summer <they go> to the woods. They have many captured slaves. Al-Marwazī: In the winter the Magyars raid them (the Slavs).

1301 Leeuwen, Ferre 1992, 446; Kmoskó 1/2, 253; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 224. Gardīzī: Ḥabībī 1963, 272; Martínez 1982, 152; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 166.

1302 Ibn Rusta: BGA VII, 139; Kmoskó 1/1, 203; Lewicki 1977, 26–27; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 52. Al-Marwazī: Minorsky 1942, a 21, 33; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 250.

1303 Sotoodeh 1962, 193; Minorsky 1937, 162; Göckenjan, Zimonyi 2001, 218.

The account is to be found in chapter on the Slavs. It was recorded by only two authors of the *Jayhānī* tradition, which explains their lack of thorough study. The castles in the forest zone built by Eastern Slavic-speaking communities have been extensively studied.<sup>1304</sup> *Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'qūb* visited Prague in the second half of the 10th century and he recorded the building of a castle that survives in the Muslim literature: "In this way most of the Slavic (*Ṣaqālib*) castles are built. [The Slavs] go to meadows abundant in water and trees, trace there a circle or a square, as they like, which marks the shape and extension of the future fortress. Then they dig a trench around this contour and put the carved earth above. Sometimes they strengthen the walls with boards or wood as the castles are built until the walls become as high as necessary. Then, in the wall, they make a gate of any shape they like. One can get to this gate by a wooden bridge."<sup>1305</sup>

There is another important datum in the description: the season of the campaigns is always winter time, which was an important element of nomadic war tactics. The Mongol campaign against Eastern Europe in 1236–1242 is an example: the Mongols attacked the Russian principalities in winter and spent the summer in the steppe.<sup>1306</sup> Studying the Magyar forays against the West and Byzantium in the first half of the 10th century, *Kristó* concluded that the Magyar forces generally made their incursions in winter.<sup>1307</sup> This description reflects the typical nomadic tactics of raiding the forest dwellers when the rivers and swamps were frozen.

### Summary

The basic parallel texts are shown in the table:

	<i>Ibn Rusta</i>	<i>Gardizī</i>	<i>al-Bakrī</i>	<i>Ḥudūd</i>	<i>al-Marwazī</i>
1	×	×	×	×	×
2	×	×	×	×	
3	×	×		×	×

1304 Goehrke 1992, 108–109; Kuza 1985, 39–51.

1305 Leeuwen, Ferre 1992, 331; Mishin 1996, 185; Geramb, Mackensen 1927, 12; Kowalski 1946, 2, 48–49, 145–146; Kmoskó 1/2, 241.

1306 Vernadsky 1953, 50; Göckenjan 1991, 40–42, 65, note 50.

1307 *Kristó* 1996c, 11–15.

(cont.)

	Ibn Rusta	Gardizī	al-Bakrī	Ḥudūd	al-Marwazī
4	×	×	×	×	×
5	×	×	×	×	×
6	×	×	×		×
7	×	×	×	×	×
8	×	×		×	×
9		×		×	
10		×			×
11		×		×	
12	×	×		×	×
13	×				×
14	×	×		×	×
15	×	×	×		
16	×	×			
17	×				
18		×		×	×
19		×			
20				×	×
21		×			
22		×			
23		×			
24			×		
25		×			×

There are sections listed in the table that are present in only one author; there is little doubt that these parts are later insertions. The manuscript of Ibn Rusta's work is of crucial importance to the reconstruction of the text, as the author used a special hyphen to divide his text into different sections. Such hyphens are to be found in Paragraph 5 between the name of the Magyar chief, given as Gyula, and the description of his function, and before Paragraphs 15 and 17.

The subdivision of the text in the table has been taken into consideration in the reconstruction of the basic information. As a general rule, the beginning and end of the chapters have been rewritten. The first sentence of the original text is also debatable. The text of Paragraph 2 by Ibn Rusta, Gardizī and al-Bakrī, i.e. the first border of the Magyars east of the Volga River, does not fit into

the historical geography of the late 9th century. The peoples along the Volga, the Khazars, Burtas and Volga Bulgars, separated the Magyars living east of the Volga from those on the northern shore of the Black Sea. I argue that the beginning of the text consisted of the first sentence in the works of al-Marwazī and Abū'l-Fidā', i.e. the Magyars are a Turkic people, and is Paragraph 3 of Ibn Rusta and Gardizī, following the sentence on the Magyar border between the Volga Bulgars and Pechenegs. The Magyars were determined as Turks in the *Hudūd al-'ālam*, as the anonymous author placed the description of the Magyars together with the other Turkic peoples living east of the Volga and not in the section devoted to the peoples of Eastern Europe.

Paragraphs 2 and 3 can be connected with one another context, as the first border of the Magyars east of the Volga is the consequence of their Turkic origin. Moreover, al-Jayhānī derived the Magyar self-designation from an Arabic etymology of people living in dug ground, which can be located between the Ural Mountain and the Middle Volga. These notions seem to have motivated the interpolation. Its historical background was the existence of a minor Magyar group east of the Volga attested from the beginning of the tenth century. The first Magyar border east of the Volga was regarded as the remembrance of an ancient homeland of the Magyars, but on the contrary it might be a contemporary, i.e. late 9th or 10th century, interpolation.

The beginning of the Magyar passage in the Jayhānī tradition must be reconstructed from al-Marwazī. He next described the extent of the Magyar country, which is found in the parallel texts of Ibn Rusta, Gardizī, *Hudūd al-'ālam* and al-Bakrī under Paragraph 7. It may be concluded that al-Marwazī took this sentence from its original place and changed the original order. It is corroborated by the fact that Paragraph 6 is followed by Paragraph 8 in his work according to our reconstruction.

The idolatry of the Magyars was recorded by al-Bakrī in the same position, whereas the later parallel sentence of Abū'l-Fidā' preserved the original record on Magyar fire-worship. Ibn Rusta and Gardizī mentioned it under Paragraph 15, but it is an interpolation there that does not fit the context. It is hard to settle the question of whether the original version included this information, and if so, where it was placed. It is quite possibly taken from the chapter on the Slavs, which contains the same description.

The second sentence of the original passage must be Paragraph 4 on the 20,000 horsemen of the Magyar king preserved by Ibn Rusta, Gardizī, *Hudūd al-'ālam* and al-Marwazī.

This was followed by Paragraph 5 concerning the rulers of the Magyar tribal confederacy. There are several versions of the report. Only one of the rulers is mentioned in the incomplete versions represented on the one hand by

al-Marwazī and al-Bakrī, in which only the title *künde* is mentioned, and by the *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam* on the other, which refers the other Magyar chieftain, called *gyula*. The original version with the titles of the two Magyar rulers has been preserved by the first part of Paragraph 5 by Ibn Rusta and Gardīzī. It was supplemented by some information on the political institutions represented by Ibn Rusta and Gardīzī. As mentioned above, Ibn Rusta used a special hyphen here to separate the shorter version from the supplemented one.

Paragraph 6 refers to the felt-tents and nomadic way of life of the Magyars, who followed the grass. Ibn Rusta and al-Marwazī used the same expressions, while al-Bakrī transformed the text to adapt it to Beduin nomadism. Gardīzī did not mention tents, he knew only of a plain covered with grass. The author of the *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam* omitted this part of the passage.

Paragraph 7 contains the data on the extent of the Magyar lands. Its size is one hundred parasangs by one hundred parasangs. Ibn Rusta emphasized the great extent of the country but omitted the numerical data from the original version. Al-Bakrī and the *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam* preserved only the numerals. The author of the latter source increased one of the diameters arbitrarily from one hundred parasangs to one hundred and fifty. The longer version is represented in the works of Gardīzī and al-Marwazī, but al-Marwazī removed it from its original place and inserted it as the second sentence of his text.

Paragraph 8 also comprises a short and an extended version. Al-Marwazī's text is the representative of the short version, mentioning the Sea of Rūm as one of the borders of the Magyars and the two great rivers that flow into that sea, one of which is larger than the river Jayḥūn, and finally that the lands of the Magyars lay along these two rivers. Only the first data were recorded by al-Bakrī, who replaced the word 'sea' with 'country', meaning the Byzantine empire (country of Rūm), then he finished the passage on the Magyars; but to this he added a description of the Caucasus from the Khazar sections to the Magyar chapter (Paragraph 24). Al-Bakrī completed the description of the Magyars with an interpolation.

Ibn Rusta and Gardīzī, in parallel with al-Marwazī, quoted the original text first then supplemented it with further information. This is the long version of the Paragraph, including the reference to the winter quarters of the Magyars on the banks of the great rivers and their fishing as a means of sustenance in winter. The second part of the long version was recorded in the *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam* with some details revised. The mention of the Rus' therein is without doubt a later interpolation.

Paragraph 10 was the next sentence in the original text, as reflected in the book of al-Marwazī. After quoting the short version of Paragraph 8, he gave the names of the afore-mentioned rivers according to the context. As Ibn Rusta

and Gardīzī preserved the long version of Paragraph 8, the designations of the rivers were omitted by Ibn Rusta or were placed elsewhere by Gardīzī, who supplemented Paragraph 8 by describing the people called *N.nd.r*, i.e. the Danube Bulgars, in connection with one of the great rivers. Gardīzī mentioned the names of the great rivers in Paragraph 10 and then under Paragraph 11 added a discussion of the people called *M.rwāt* i.e. Moravians.

Gardīzī's Paragraphs 9 and 11, i.e. the chapters on the Danube Bulgars and the Moravians, have parallel descriptions in separate passages in the *Hudūd al-'ālam*. Consequently, these passages are later interpolations into the original text on Gardīzī's part. However, the source and date of information can be ascertained, for the ethnic names *N.nd.r* and *M.rwāt* reflect the Hungarian pronunciation. The ten days' journey between the Danubian Bulgars and the Moravians was relevant before 895, as the Magyar conquest of the Carpathian Basin at the end of the ninth century separated the two peoples. These paragraphs have been preserved only in Persian.

In the original text, Paragraph 12 followed the names of the two great rivers. Al-Marwazī mentioned only the abundance of trees in their country, while the *Hudūd al-'ālam* added that the country possesses running waters. The descriptions of Ibn Rusta and Gardīzī coincides with this, but they supplemented it with further information: their ground is damp. It is hard to decide whether the latter was in the original text or was part of the long version. The term for 'damp' was also used in the description of the country of the Rus'.

The next sentence of the original text is Paragraph 13. It concerns the sown fields of the Magyars and is recorded only by Ibn Rusta and al-Marwazī.

Paragraphs 14 and 16 concern Magyar-Slavic relations. Al-Marwazī's Paragraph is identical with Gardīzī's Paragraph 16. The original version may be regarded as including the attack on the Slavs and Rus', taking captives from among them, carrying them to Byzantine territory, and selling them to the Byzantines. Ibn Rusta and Gardīzī took Paragraphs 14 and 15 from the same source, whose first sentence is almost the same of that of al-Marwazī's text. The name *Rus* is omitted by Ibn Rusta and Gardīzī, but they supplemented the text with remarks on the imposition of provisions upon the Slavs and their slave status. The latter addition may have been part of the long version. Paragraph 15, i.e. the fire worship of the Magyars, was a change of topic, as Ibn Rusta put a hyphen in front of the Paragraph. The sentence of Paragraph 15 also appears in the Slavic chapter. Ibn Rusta then returns to Magyar-Slavic relations and supplements the original version with the name of the Byzantine sea port that the Magyars visited with their slaves (Paragraph 16a). Ibn Rusta inserted a sentence from another source on the entrenching of the Khazars against the Magyars (Paragraph 17). It is an interpolation, as corroborated by the introductory state-



ment 'it is said' and the context. Finally, Ibn Rusta continued his description of the Byzantine sea port, where the Magyars sold the slaves for Byzantine brocade, woollen carpets and other goods (Paragraph 16b). This was the closing sentence of the Magyar chapter by Ibn Rusta. Gardīzī and Ibn Rusta used a common source for Paragraphs 14 and 15, but Gardīzī quoted the original version of al-Marwazī (Paragraph 14) after Paragraph 15. The Magyar raids against the neighbouring peoples were recorded in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, where it was placed at the end of the chapter.

Paragraph 18 contains remarks on the physical appearance of the Magyars. Gardīzī and al-Marwazī used two expressions about their appearance, then al-Marwazī emphasized the bulkiness of their bodies. The author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* used only one expression about their appearance, which corresponds to the data of Gardīzī and al-Marwazī, then described them as awe-inspiring.

The closing sentence of the Magyar chapter was Paragraph 20 in the original version, concerning the wealth of the Magyars. This was described by al-Marwazī along with their commerce, while their wealth was compared with their baseness in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*. Gardīzī did not mention their wealth but described their brocade clothes and decorated arms in Paragraph 19, which means, in other words, that they were rich.

Gardīzī did not finish the Magyar chapter here but rephrased the first sentences of Paragraphs 14 and 16 and returned to the topic of Magyar-Slavic relations. Paragraph 21 is an internal borrowing or interpolation from the same chapter.

Paragraph 22 concerns the distance between the Magyars and Slavs, which was taken from the Slavic passage of the Jayhānī tradition, but in which Gardīzī replaced the name of the Pechenegs with that of the Magyars.

Gardīzī described the bride price by marriage in Paragraph 23 in detail. It is regarded as the closing part of the Magyar chapter by Gardīzī, but it has been debated whether the Magyars or the Slavs were meant in the description.

Paragraph 25 is not in the Magyar chapter, but occurs in the passage on the Slavs preserved by Gardīzī and al-Marwazī. The Slavs built fortresses and moved there in winter, when the Magyars raided them. This Paragraph must have been part of the original text.

Analysing the internal structure of the Magyar chapter, it may be concluded that the first version of the Jayhānī tradition had short and long variants. The difference between the two was significant from a philological and contextual point of view; both were recorded in the decades before 895, the year the Magyars moved into the Carpathian Basin. These basic variants were reformed at least two times. The manuscripts of the authors using the Jayhānī tradition may be regarded as later copies of these variants.

The interpolations can be identified. The data on the *N.nd.r* and *M.rwāt* people (Paragraphs 9 and 11) were gathered from Magyars, as the names reflect the Hungarian pronunciation (*Nándor, Marót*), and can be dated to before 895, since the Magyars did not divide these two peoples from each other in the Carpathian Basin until then. Three paragraphs (21, 22, 24) were copied from the same or another chapter of the Jayhānī tradition. These interpolations are of uncertain origin. This category includes the following Paragraphs: 2, 14 and 15 of Ibn Rusta and Gardizī; 16a–b and 17 of Ibn Rusta; and 19 and 23 of Gardizī.

The original text can be reconstructed from the parallel works. Comparison of the texts makes it evident that, as mentioned, the basic text had two versions. The shorter version was supplemented with certain pieces of information to create the longer version of the basic text. I use roman type below to denote the shorter basic text and italic type for the supplements in the longer version. The basic text was reformed at least twice. These interpolations can be divided into three types: 1. There are sentences in the Magyar chapters that were copied from other chapters of the Jayhānī tradition. They are underlined below. 2. There are interpolations whose origin can be identified on the basis of philological, geographical and historical reasons: these reports were gathered by Muslim merchants who visited the Magyars before 895, the conquest of the Carpathian Basin. These parts are denoted with underlined italics. 3. There are unidentified interpolations, which are indicated by bold.

The structure of the text can be reconstructed as follows:

1. M.jf.r/M.ḥf.r
2. **Between the country of the Pechenegs and the *ʿsk.l* who belong to the Bulgars, lies the first border from among the borders of the Magyars.**
3. The Magyars are a Turkic people.
4. Their chieftain rides at the head of 20,000 horsemen.
5. The name of their chieftain is k.nd.h. This name is the title of their king, while the name of the man who practice the royal power over them is j.l.h. *Every Magyar does what the chieftain, called j.l.h, commands them in making war, repelling invasions/defence and the like.*
6. They are tent-dwelling people. They migrate following the herbage and vegetation.
7. Their country is wide; its size is a hundred parasangs by a hundred parasangs.
8. One border of their country reaches the Sea of Rūm. Two rivers flow into this sea. One of them is bigger than the Jayhūn (Oxus). The lands of the

Magyars lie between these two rivers. *When the days of winter come, all of them set up camp on the river, whichever of the two rivers lies nearer to them. They stay there during the winter catching fish from the river. It is the most appropriate winter quarters for them.*

(Al-Bakrī: One border of their country reaches the country of Rūm,)

24. their other border, on the desert side, is a mountain inhabited by the people called Aīn. They possess horses, livestock, and sown fields. The people called Ughūna dwell under this mountain, on the sea-coast. They are Christian and adjacent to the Muslim territories bordering on the region of Tiflīs; this is the first border/beginning frontier of Armenia. This mountain continues down to the territory of al-Bāb wa-l-Abwāb, and reaches the Khazar country.
9. *As for the Jayhūn (river), which is to the left of them towards the Saqlāb, there are a people belonging to the Rūm, all of whom are Christians. They are called N.nd.r. They are more numerous than the Magyars, but they are weaker.*
10. The names of the two rivers are Dūnā and Atil. *When the Magyars are on the banks of the river (Danube), they see these N.nd.r.*
11. *There is a great mountain above the N.nd.r along the bank of the river. The stream emerges alongside that mountain. Beyond the mountain“ there are a people belonging to the Christians. They are called M.rwāt. Between them and the N.nd.r is a ten-day journey. They are a numerous people. Their clothing resembles that of the Arabs, consisting of a turban, shirt, and waistcoat. They have sown fields and vines, for their waters run over the ground. They have no underground channels. It is said that their number is greater than the Rūm (Byzantines). They are two separate communities. The greater part of their commerce is with the Arabs (\*West).*
12. The country of the Magyars abounds in trees. *Its ground is damp.*
13. They have sown fields.
14. They overcome those of the Ṣaqāliba and Rūs, taking captives from them, they carry the captives to Rūm, and sell them there.
  14. They overcome all the Ṣaqāliba who are their neighbours **imposing harsh provisions/victuals upon them, and treat them as their slaves.**
  15. **The Magyars are fire worshippers.**
  - 16a. **They raid the Ṣaqāliba, and they take the captives along the sea coast till they reach a harbour of Rūm, which is called K.r.kh.**
  17. **It is said that the Khazars entrenched themselves some time ago against the Magyars and other peoples bordering their country.**
  - 16b. **When the Magyars take the captives to K.r.kh, the Rūm (Byzan-**

tines) go out to them, and they trade there. They buy Byzantine (rūmī) brocade, woollen carpets and other Byzantine goods for the slaves.

18. The Magyars are handsome and pleasant looking, their bodies are bulky.
20. They have wealth and visible property on account of their commerce.
19. **Their clothes are brocade and their weapons are plated with silver and embedded with pearl.**
21. They continually go to plunder the Saqlābs.
22. From the Magyars to the Saqlābs is a ten-day journey. In the nearest part of the Saqlābs is a town which is called Wāntīt.
23. **They have the custom in asking for a wife that when they ask for a wife they take a bride-price in accordance with her wealth consisting of more or fewer horses. And when they mount up to take the bride-price, the girl's father takes the groom's father to his house and whatever he has by way of sable, ermine, grey squirrel, weasel, and underbellies of fox he brings together with a needle and brocade to the amount of ten fur-coats. He wraps (these) in a bed roll and ties (it) on the groom's father's horse and he sends it off toward his home. Then, whatever is necessary by way of the girl's bride-price consisting of cattle and moveable chattels and household furnishing, which have been deemed appropriate, is sent to him (the bride's father) and only then is the girl brought to the (groom's) house.**
25. In the winter the Magyars raid them (the Slavs).

The Magyar tribal confederation can be characterized by the following features in the second half of the 9th century on the basis of the original information of the Jayhānī tradition:

1. The Muslim author thought that the Magyars on the northern shore of the Black Sea migrated there from the East. This is based on three factors: a. The popular etymology of the Magyar ethnonym connecting it with the legendary story of a country dug into the ground; b. The reference to the Magyar lands between the Volga Bulgars and the Pechenegs, which is based on information of a Magyar group on the middle Volga region from the tenth century; c. The Magyars were regarded as belonging to the Turkic peoples. According to the Muslim geographical settings the Turkic peoples lived east of the Volga River, so the Magyars should have migrated from there to the west.
2. The way of life of the Magyars was portrayed as a complex one. The Magyars of the steppe-belt were described as typical tent-dwelling nomads, migrat-

ing along rivers and supplying their provisions with fishing during the critical winter season, while the Magyars living in the forest-steppe and forest zones practiced high-quality tillage farming. The Magyars took part in commerce between the peoples of the forest and Byzantium. They raided the peoples north of them to take captives to sell in the Byzantine province of the Crimea. The wealth of the Magyars was due to this lucrative trade. The luxury goods coming from Byzantium were recorded by Muslim merchants visiting the Magyars.

3. The geographical description of the country is an integral part of the passage. The lands of the Magyar tribal confederation extend one hundred by one hundred parasangs. Its size thus was about six hundred by six hundred kilometres, which approximately corresponds to the size of Scythia described by Herodotus or that of the country of the Danube Bulgars. It is smaller than the country of the Pechenegs, but larger than the land of the Burtas.

The southern border of the Magyar lands is the northern shore of the Black Sea, called the Sea of Rüm. One of the two great rivers mentioned in the Jayhānī tradition can be identified with the Danube. The other, called *ʔ.t.l* (Turkic *Ätil* > Hungarian: *Etel*), was the name of the Volga in Turkic languages, and was borrowed by the Hungarian language as a common noun (*ätil* 'river, great stream'), whence it was applied to one of the great rivers flowing into the Sea of Azov or Black Sea.

The country of the Magyars is said to be abundant in trees and the ground to be damp. This is characteristic of the forest and forest-steppe zones, so while most of the Magyars lived in that belt, the steppe to its south also belonged to them.

4. According to the original text of the Jayhānī tradition, the Magyar political structure was a dual kingship. The ruler called *künde* had only formal power, while the leader, *gyula*, governed and led the army. The title *künde* was the third position in the hierarchy of the Khazar Empire, so the Magyar ruler had significant influence in the Khazar court but was a subordinate of the Khazar ruler. The increasing power of the *gyula*, who represented the interests of the Magyar confederation, can be explained by the loosening of the tight control the Khazar king held over the Magyars. The Magyar tribal confederation could confront the Khazars for shorter periods, as in the interpolation about the Khazar entrenching against the Magyars, but it remained a part of the Khazar Empire until the conquest of the Carpathian Basin in 895.

The military force of the Magyars was twenty thousand warriors, i.e. two tümens. It was a strong and effective army that could be mobilized by a tribal

confederation consisting of seven to ten tribes of other nomadic peoples. This army was able to conquer the Carpathian Basin and to stabilize its power there and then terrorize the West and Byzantium with their raids. This made it possible to lay the foundation of the Hungarian kingdom in Christian Europe and for it to remain a significant power during the Middle Ages.



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